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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this document is to report on the ways in which formal education of Cree Indian youths influences the development of their psychological identities. The sample for the study was comprised of 109 adolescent Cree Indians from the Mistassini and Waswanipi bands located in north central Quebec. These youths attended elementary and high schools in La Tuque, Quebec; Brantford, Ontario; and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. It is noted that the socialization patterns of these youths alternate between the traditional Indian way of life and that of modern white society. Evidences are drawn from clinically oriented anlysis of the Adolescent Adjustment Interviews and are supplemented by field data and the use of informants. Recommendations from the study deal with diminishing the intensity of identity conflict among Cree youth through (1) encouragement to retain sufficient emotional attachment to traditional values, (2) designing school curricula to validate self-images, and (3) reducing discontinuities in the enculturation of Cree children. (EL)

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ANNEX 3

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EDUCATION AND IDENTITY CONFLICT AMONG CREE INDIAN YOUTH: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

by

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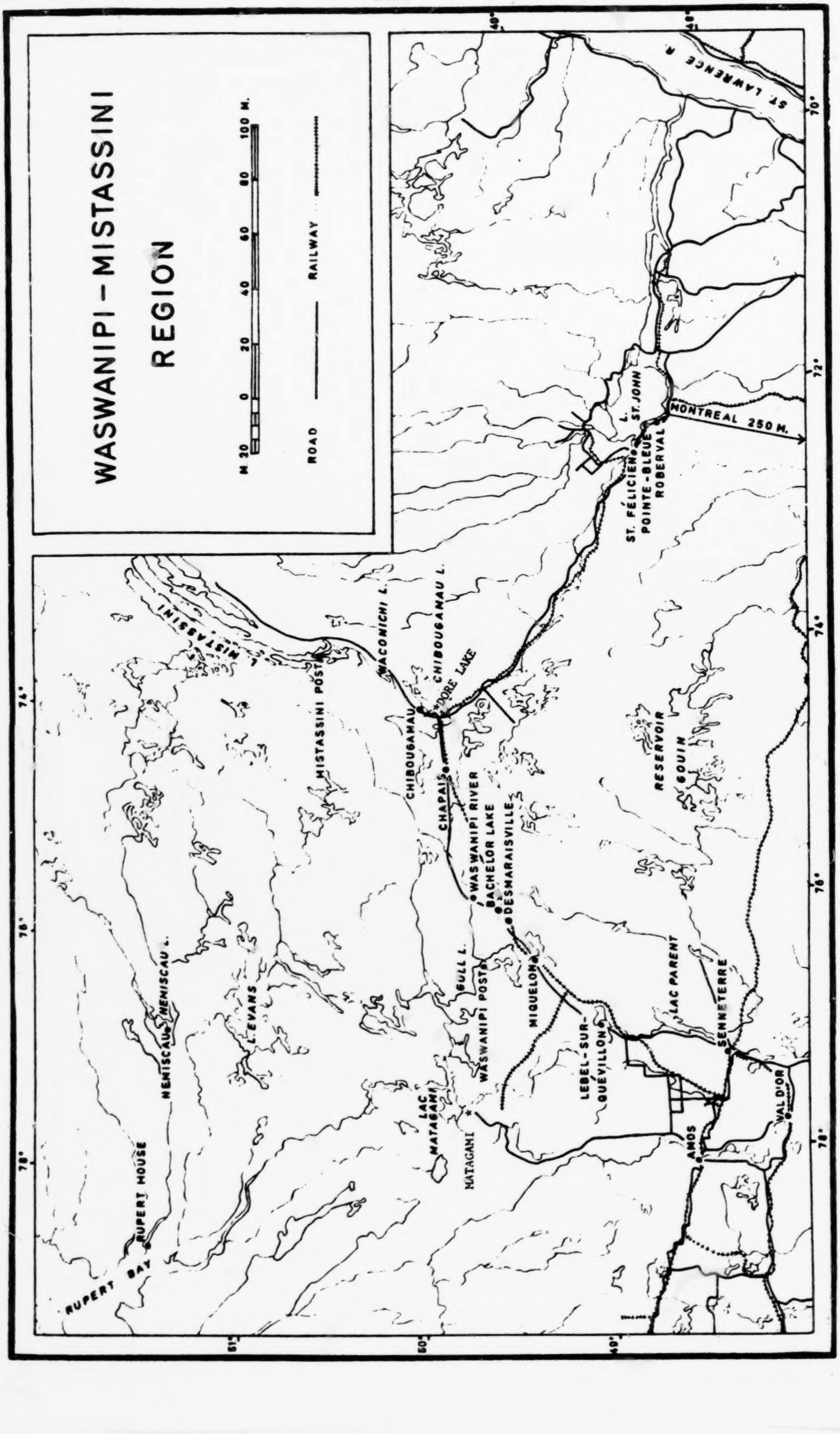
WASWANIPI - MISTASSINI
REGION
M 20
0
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40
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80
100 M.
ROAD
RAILWAY
RUPERT BAY
RUPERT HOUSE
NEMISCAU
NEMISCAU L.
L. EVANS
LAC MATAGAMI
MATAGAMI
WASWANIPI POST
GULL L.
LEBEL-SUR-QUÉVILLON
MIQUELON
LAC PARENT
SENNETERRE
AMOS
VAL D'OR
WASWANIPI RIVER
BACHELOR LAKE
DESMARAISVILLE
RESERVOIR GOUIN
CHAPAIS
CHIBOUGAMAU
MISTASSINI POST
L. MISTASSINI
WACONICHI L.
CHIBOUGAMAU L.
DORE LAKE
ST. FÉLICIEN
POINTE-BLEUE
ROBERVAL
L. ST. JOHN
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INTRODUCTION

The 1500 Cree Indians of the Mistassini, Waswanipi and Nemiscau bands are located in north central Quebec in an extensive area south and east of James Bay (see map). Their traditional life way, based on subsistence hunting, trapping and fishing has been changing significantly in recent years as a result of the development of large-scale forestry and mining operations in the region, the introduction of roads and communications, the expansion of governmental services and the decline in fur prices (Chance, 1968). At the same time important modifications in the traditional patterns of enculturation are taking place as a result of the introduction and expansion of formal educational institutions (Sindell, 1968). The Cree Developmental Change Project was designed to investigate the broad ecological, psychological, economic, social and cultural implications of these changes.

The purpose of this report is to examine the ways in which the formal education of Cree youth influences the development of their psychological identity. It is a statement of the context, aims, and methods of our research into the relationship between education and identity conflict experienced by 109 Mistassini and Waswanipi adolescents attending elementary and high schools in La Tuque, Quebec; Brantford, Ontario; and Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

The socialization experiences of these students alternate between, on one hand, the traditional hunting-trapping or fishing groups and the summer settlements, and, on the other, the 'White' urban industrial towns where they attend school. In order to understand the striking difference between these two milieux, aspects of traditional enculturation are described and contrasted with life in the residential schools. Next, the impact of formal education upon parent-child relations is discussed. Given the marked degree of enculturative discontinuity which results from the children's dual socialization it is hypothesized that identity conflict during adolescence will reflect the individual's attempts to resolve apparent incompatibilities between two major models for identification: the traditional Cree model represented primarily by adult kin and the 'White' middle-class or working-class model represented primarily by teachers, counselors and foster parents.[1]

Hypotheses are presented concerning the direction of attempts to resolve identity conflict. Evidence bearing on these hypotheses is drawn from our clinically oriented analysis of the Adolescent Adjustment Interviews obtained from all of these students, supplemented by field data and interviews with other Cree informants. To illustrate the nature and extent of identity conflict, data on four individual students is given. Attempts at conflict resolution by means of a synthesis of the two major identity models are delineated in the latter two cases.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON IDENTITY THEORY

The 'identity concept' is drawn from the theory of personality development elaborated by Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968), who refers to the years of puberty and adolescence as the stage of identity formation. Erikson states that:

> "The conscious feeling of having a personal identity is based on two simultaneous observations: the immediate perception of one's self awareness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and continuity." (1959:23)

The fundamental psychosocial crisis of adolescence is the development and consolidation of a meaningful, consistent sense of ego identity. The process of identity formation may however be intensely conflictual. Feelings of hopelessness and a sense of failure in an individual's efforts to progress toward social and occupational goals consistent with his ego ideal generate anxiety and role confusion. If the adolescent is unable to resolve this identity conflict as he passes into early adulthood, he emerges not with a sense of ego identity, but with identity confusion, characterized by inconsistency of goals, impairment of decision-making ability, and self devaluation.

The likelihood of any individual reaching adulthood with a sense of ego identity predominant over identity confusion depends on three main factors: 1) the resolution of earlier psychosocial crises in the direction of a sense of industry over inferiority, initiative over guilt, autonomy over shame and doubt, and trust over mistrust, 2) the overall adequacy of available models for identification during adolescence, and 3) the potential to realize the various social, occupational and other roles, which taken together conform to his self-image and comprise his sense of ego identity.

The principal models which serve as the basis for identity formation are the parents or parent surrogates. These models are supplemented during puberty and adolescence by individuals or institutions representing different and changing aspects of the individual's ego ideal; such as legendary culture heros, movie or sports stars, political, educational, religious or other figures. The adequacy of the various identity models, parental and others, are tested and emotional realignments are worked out. It follows from this that a certain degree of inter-generational conflict is inevitable in the normal process of adolescent self-definition and individuation from the parents. This conflict is exacerbated however when the adolescent's major identity models embody conflicting cultural values.

METHODOLOGY

This report presents data and hypotheses about education and its relationship to identity conflict among one hundred and nine Cree adolescents from the Mistassini and Waswanipi bands.[2] The one hundred and nine Adolescent Adjustment

Interview protocols represent virtually the total population of adolescents from these two bands who were attending school in 1967 and 1968. The total includes the following:

1. Sixty nine of the seventy Mistassini adolescents at La Tuque in mid 1967 (30 boys, 39 girls).[3]
2. All twenty five Waswanipi adolescents at Brantford in early 1968 (11 boys, 14 girls). (all students at La Tuque and Brantford were in the elementary grades, from "beginners' classes" to Grade eight)
3. All nine Mistassini students (7 boys, 2 girls) and six Waswanipi students (3 boys, 3 girls) attending high schools in Sault Ste. Marie, (Grades nine to thirteen) in early 1968.

Table I presents the distribution of respondents by sex and school locale.

TABLE I: Distribution of Mistassini and Waswanipi adolescent students by sex and school locale.

School locale	Male	Female	Total
La Tuque	30	39	69
Brantford	11	14	25
Sault Ste. Marie	10	5	15
Total	51	58	109

The La Tuque Adolescent Adjustment Interview protocols were collected in May and June of 1967. The Sault Ste. Marie and Brantford interviews were conducted in January of 1968. All interviews were conducted individually in English, under conditions of privacy and confidentiality. The Adolescent Adjustment Interview (see Appendix A.) consists of a schedule of some one hundred questions and usually required from one and a half to two hours to administer. The schedule included many open-ended questions in order to facilitate exploration of psychologically significant material and achieve some of the flexibility of a clinical interview. (see Case Studies, pages 40-41 for a description of some cultural factors which affected administration of this interview.)

The Adolescent Adjustment Interview (AAI) was designed to collect in a relatively standardized way a body of data relating to identity conflict and its resolution. The interview sought to explore the student's self image and ego ideal, to clarify the nature and extent of identity conflict, and to determine the relationships between that conflict and the individual's socialization experiences in the traditional as compared to the urban school environment.

Particular sections of the AAI dealt with educational, occupational, and social aspirations and anxieties about those aspirations, perceptions of the White world, experiences in interacting with Whites, and the prominence of symptoms of inadequacy, anxiety and depression. In constructing the AAI some categories for investigation were utilized which paralleled sections of the Cree Culture Change Questionnaire (Chance, 1966) to permit controlled comparisons between adolescents and adults with respect to such crucial subjects as attitudes toward work and job training, occupational choices, residential preferences, and value orientations relating to education, arranged marriage, and traditional religion.

Insights gained from field observations and interviews conducted prior to the construction of the AAI assisted significantly in its design. Following its administration to the sixty nine students at La Tuque some additions and modifications of the AAI schedule were made for use with the Sault Ste. Marie and Brantford students. The AAI data has been supplemented by information derived from 1) Clinical interviews of a sample of adults and adolescents during 1967 and 1968 at Mistassini Post, Doré Lake, Chapais, Miquelon, Waswanipi River, Matagami, and the La Tuque Indian Residential School; and 2) ethnographic field work during 1966, 1967 and 1968 at Mistassini Post, Doré Lake, the La Tuque school, and in the bush with a hunting-trapping group. Field data collected before and after administration of the AAI provided contextual information essential for an accurate interpretation of the protocols and other interview material.

During the summer of 1968 thirty four interviews were conducted in the Mistassini region with adolescents and young adults who had not attended school at all or who had gone only for a few years in order to have a control group to compare with those youths with more extensive school careers. A modified version of the AAI was employed in these interviews.

As noted previously this report is preliminary in nature since the analysis of the protocols is still in progress. All field note data, interviews, and AAI protocols relating to individual adolescents, their siblings, and parents have been assembled in family files in order to facilitate our analysis of intrafamilial dynamics as they relate to identity conflict. More extensive statistical and clinical analyses will be completed on the total sample of one hundred and nine AAI student protocols and the thirty four non-student protocols. These findings will be incorporated in the final report of this research.

TRADITIONAL ENCULTURATION AND THE IMPACT OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction

In the past,a limited number of children received formal education. Usually these children attended distant residential schools for two to four years and then returned to the traditional life of their parents. Generally in the face of parental opposition, these children were arbitrarily selected by missionaries and government officials to attend school. As governmental policies have come to stress the economic and social integration of Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life, governmental encouragement and financial support for Indian education has expanded strikingly. Consequently during the present decade almost all Mistassini and Waswanipi children of school age have attended school and most have continued for many more years than had been usual in the past. Schools have been built at Mistassini Post (a day school, opened January, 1964) and at La Tuque (a residential school, opened September, 1963). Those families who stay at the Post during the winter send their children to the day school there. However, the majority of Mistassini students and almost all Waswanipi students now attend the residential schools at La Tuque, Quebec, and Brantford, Ontario, while their parents are in the bush,[4] dispersed in small hunting-trapping groups. A few older students attend high schools and live with White families in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, but now it is Indian Affairs Branch policy to have Waswanipi and Mistassini students obtain their high school education in their home province of Quebec.

Traditional enculturation

The introduction of extensive formal education, particularly residential school education, has had profound effects upon the socialization of Cree children. Placing Cree students in residential schools located hundreds of miles away from their parents for ten months of each year, in many cases from the age of six onward, radically disrupts the traditional process of enculturation. All students presently in school have participated in traditional Cree life from birth to the age of six and, in many cases, for much more of their lives, Most students in our sample of adolescents did not begin their formal education until the age of eight and some only began much later, in their teens. The older a student is when he enters school the more opportunities he has had to learn traditional skills and play traditionally oriented roles, Further, as he has taken his place in the hunting-trapping group he has had many experiences which have strengthened his committment to traditional values and behavioural patterns.

It is important to understand traditional conceptions of the life cycle because parents' aspirations and expectations for their children are geared to it in almost every way. Parents have been socialized in the traditional manner and because of their limited contact with Euro-Canadian culture they have little knowledge of 'White' child rearing practices and of the dominant society's expectations for adolescents. For example, in the White society adolescents generally are expected to remain in school until they complete high school and are not expected to assume full adult responsibilities until their early or mid twenties. (see Erikson 1959, 1968 for a discussion of this "psychosocial moratorium"). While Euro-Canadian students are in school they are treated in many ways as if they had not reached maturity. In addition they retain a high degree of dependence upon their parents. This long period of dependence and formal training is required by the technological complexity and manpower requirements of industrial society.

In contrast, Cree adolescents traditionally begin to assume adult economic roles at puberty or shortly thereafter and soon contribute substantially to the subsistence base of the family and hunting group. Before puberty their contributions to the hunting group are of some significance but after puberty boys begin to participate actively in hunting and trapping and girls begin to prepare pelts for sale and for making mittens, moccasins and snowshoes. By the late teens and early twenties these Cree youths have gained the necessary practical experience to function effectively as adults in almost every way. The attainment of adult status and skills is recognized and celebrated in several rites de passage. For the girls ritual isolation on the occasion of menarche is the most important. For the boys "first kill" rites for moose, bear, beaver, partridge and water birds play a vital part in developing self esteem and in consolidating an image of oneself as a hunter and trapper. For both sexes,however, marriage normally precedes full social recognition of adult status.

Because of the harsh subarctic climate, the vagaries of hunting, and the isolation of the hunting group, there are many dangers in bush living, such as drowning, serious illness or accident occurring far from any medical assistance, getting lost in the bush, freezing or starving.[5] As a result of these factors early parental death is not uncommon. The nuclear family normally is reconstituted through remarriage of the surviving spouse, Parental death as well as Cree adoption practices, wherein a child lives with his grandparents or other kin to assist them with household tasks, cause important changes in the structure of the household in which a child grows up. As noted in a later section these changes in household membership, as well as the substitution of parental figures which results, cause these children to develop weaker affective ties to parents and/or parent surrogates than those children who have grown up in stable households.

Through observing their parents and elder siblings Cree children learn early in life the basic components of most adult roles. Much children's play is highly imitative and,thus, rehearses adult roles. For example, little girls make 'bannock' out of mud, make hammocks and baby sacks for their dolls, and pretend to cook, sew, lay a bough floor, and skin animals. Our field observations show that children as young as two and a half years old often "help" their mother skin beavers, imitating every stroke of the knife or bone tool. Imitation of parental behaviour is reinforced by attention, smiling, or positive comments. During the summer, little boys commonly pull cardboard boxes and other objects as if they were transporting supplies on toboggans. From four to five years of age onward boys hunt birds and have their own special hunting bag for personal supplies and for the birds they kill. Small boys also set rabbit snares and, with an adult's help initially, set traps near the winter camp for fox, mink and other small game. If an animal is caught there is great excitement in the camp and much attention and praise is given to the successful 'hunter'.

From ages four to six children begin to do chores regularly such as caring for smaller siblings and carrying wood, water and boughs. Frequently children accompany their parents into the bush to search for boughs and firewood and to check those snares and traps which are not far from the camp. As they get older they are given more responsibilities, especially during the winter in the bush since so much effort is required just to keep the dwelling warm and comfortable. Many tasks which children perform are done cooperatively with their siblings, parents, or other kin and these tasks contribute directly to the welfare of the group. Children are aware of their contributions and take pride in their growing competence. In later life such cooperation in work is of great significance and is highly adaptive as it makes the most efficient use of the group's limited labour resources.[6]

Sharing food as well as labour is stressed in Cree culture. Children observe this extensive sharing within the kin group during both winter and summer and participate directly in it. Young children carry gifts of cooked food between the constituent families in the hunting group and in the summer carry gifts of bannock, fish, and game birds between kin. That generosity and sharing food are learned early in life is also illustrated in the exchange of gifts between neighbouring hunting groups during the winter. A small child will receive special delicacies specifically designated for him, from a grandparent for example, which the child then shares. The child learns to reciprocate such gifts, either immediately or later, by sending some tobacco or another delicacy to the person who sent the present to him. Observations indicate that children usually share food and toys very readily.

Self reliance and independence are also important in traditional enculturation but the autonomy which develops is utilized in the service of the family or hunting group. Often in the bush during the winter or at a fishing camp during the summer children have no peers or siblings of the same age level and thus must learn to depend upon themselves for amusement. In addition children have few limitations placed upon their behaviour. They are free to eat whenever and as frequently as they feel hungry, bedtime is not rigidly scheduled, and, except in clearly dangerous situations, such as going in boats unaccompanied, children are permitted to explore their natural surroundings, either alone or in the company of siblings or playmates. In this manner children learn many of the physical skills needed in the bush, such as how to snowshoe and use an axe or other tools. For example we have observed a boy of five experimenting with an axe, chopping down trees many times his own height (often while on snowshoes) and trying to split large logs into a size suitable for the wood stove.

As a child gains skill in performing different kinds of tasks adults pointedly begin to ignore overtly dependent behaviour such as crying or seeking attention and nurture the child's self esteem through approval and encouragement of his new skills and ability to take responsibility. During childhood and adolescence the child learns to handle himself while alone in the bush without getting lost, in all kinds of weather and with many different kinds of tasks to accomplish. For instance on the trapline a boy must be able to recognize and interpret the significance of animal tracks and be able to judge where it is safe to walk on the ice. Such self reliance and the ability to function well without aid or support from other people is crucial in bush life.

In traditional Cree culture, where both individual autonomy and cooperation with others are necessary, mechanisms to maintain group solidarity are highly adaptive. One such mechanism is strong social control on the overt expression of agression. Observations show that aggression is defined broadly in Cree society. It includes not only fighting but also raising one's voice inappropriately, refusing direct requests, and directly disputing someone's statements. This applies with particular force in relations between kinsmen and between members of the hunting group. These kinds of behaviour are culturally unacceptable.[7] Throughout the child's socialization fighting, quarreling, and "talking back" are highly disapproved. Corporal punishment is rare; usually threats of corporal punishment, threats of supernatural reprisals, or ridicule are employed. Laughing at someone's foibles or mistakes is not considered aggressive, however, and hostile feelings can be expressed in this manner, or covertly, through gossip, teasing, or,in more serious cases, through accusations of witchcraft.

The impact of formal education: school milieu

Before starting school during the summer most Mistassini and Waswanipi school children have relatively little interaction with Euro-Canadians.[8] In the pre-school period children have clearly traditional models for identification: parents, grandparents, elder siblings, and other kin. Most of these kinsmen speak only Cree and reward the children, implicitly and explicitly , for conformity to traditional values and role expectations. Very recently this has begun to change since older children who have gone to school for many years speak English among themselves and frequently display White-oriented attitudes and behavioural patterns.[9]

Those attending school now experience extreme cultural discontinuities when they leave their families for residential school and as they go back and forth between the summer settlements and the urban school setting. Waswanipi and Mistassini students studied attend the Brantford and La Tuque schools. We shall focus upon these schools in the following discussion.[10]

Some of the initial discontinuities in the enculturation of Cree children in the urban school milieu involve language, food, and rules. Almost without exception Cree children enter school knowing no English or French. Thus they must learn a foreign language and then other subjects through this language.[11] Serious academic problems often result from these linguistic complications. Students acquire a conversational grasp of English fairly quickly and generally pronounce English words correctly, however they encounter great difficulties in reading, reading comprehension, and in the more subtle areas of word meaning.

Because all but the oldest students normally speak Cree among themselves outside the classroom there are few occasions when students can practice their English. In addition students find it useful to speak in Cree so that their dormitory counselors cannot understand them. Yet at the same time they hear and see a great deal of English in movies and on TV and read it in magazines and books, while not having any contact with adult Cree speakers for ten months of every year. Since children's Cree language development has been disrupted by placing them in residential schools early in childhood and for the reasons alluded to above regarding English language usage, the school children use a language which in many ways is becoming a pidgin language, a mixture of Cree and English. Thus, on one hand, these linguistic factors cause children to have great difficulty in their academic work and, on the other hand, have deleterious effects on their ability to speak intelligible Cree to their parents.

Another problem in adapting to school life is food. Only some students complain that they don't get enough to eat, but all students must adapt to differences between the foods available at home and those in school, as well as to differences in the scheduling of meals. At home during the winter moose, beaver, fish, bannock and tea are central components of the diet, which is predominantly protein. During the summer, bannock, tea and fish are the staples. Food may be eaten at any time and people frequently eat small quantities of food several times during the day. At school students must eat at three specific times each day and meals provide far less meat and fish than is characteristic of the traditional Cree diet. Students find the shift to "store food" from "wild food" very difficult and yet many of them come to dislike wild food and bannock after several years at school and prefer store food which they demand when they return home for the summer. Because of the many traditional beliefs about the healthful qualities of wild food and because of the fears of food shortages parents are very upset when their children report that they are not given enough meat to eat in school and wish that their children could have some wild foods.

Because of the stress on independent exploration and self reliance in Cree enculturation students also find it hard to adjust to the many routines and rules which the school has established to cope with the large number of children under its care. Definite scheduling of classes, meals, activities, and bed time, and precise boundaries defining where students can and cannot go in the school are quite difficult to explain to the children. Going into town is also closely controlled. Children do learn to conform substantially to these rules but reprimands are still fairly frequent.

In school children are dependent upon counselors for the satisfaction of almost all of their personal needs, for example clean clothing, soap, toothpaste, letter paper, stamps, etc. Usually it is necessary to line up for these items since each counselor has so many children to care for.[12]

Actively seeking the attention of the counselor is often reinforced in this context because it is necessary in order to obtain satisfaction of one's own individual needs. School experiences such as those enumerated above weaken the self-reliant, exploratory kinds of behaviour which are so adaptive in the bush but provide training in how to cope for oneself in a large group and how to deal with authority figures.

Autonomy is encouraged in the residential school but the focus is on individualistic gains rather than on individuals cooperating for the benefit of the kin group. Teachers encourage students to compete with each other in answering questions and those who answer most promplty win the teacher's approval. Competition is also prominent in extra curricular activities and in the dormitory's cleanliness contests. But in some instance teams or groups compete instead of individuals. Then team or group members must learn to cooperate with different kinds of groups than they have previously been used to, groups of people who are not kin but are just temporarily united for a specific purpose.

Movies, TV, newspapers, books, magazines, dances, clubs and sports teams play a very important role in school life as informal modes of exposure to Euro-Canadian culture. It is these activities, especially hockey for the boys, that students say they like best about school. Because the residential schools are "total institutions" in most ways, (Goffman 1961) those students who do not attend school with White children have few opportunities for meaningful interaction with White peers or adults outside the school. However, through clubs which have integrated memberships and through some sports competitions the Cree students get to know some of their White peers, and occasionally form friendships with them.

The media, especially movies, TV, teenage magazines, and comic books are very popular with the students and influence their perception of the Euro-Canadian sociocultural system. In many cases a distorted image of the Euro-Canadian society is conveyed, for example, by the tremendous stress on romantic love in the teenage magazines. Another example is the violent character of numerous TV programmes such as "Bat Man" and "Space Ghost", two of the smaller children's favourites. The children's frequent imitation of such TV characters is an indication of the importance of these media as a source of behavioural examples.

Cree students also learn more open ways of expressing hostility through the example of their White peers and the residential school staff. In school White students often argue with the teachers, mock them, and defy their requests. In the residential schools counselors and teachers, overtired and frustrated by the demands of caring for large numbers of children, sometimes yell orders to the students, or, very occasionally swat one. Serious disciplinary cases are sent to the Principal for strapping.

All children are expected to do certain personal chores in the dormitory such as cleaning their rooms and making their beds. Younger children have other simple tasks to do such as cleaning the baseboards in the halls. These young children enjoy both kinds of tasks and take pride in their efforts as they do at home. Older students, however, distinguish between keeping their rooms clean and neat, which they do readily, and the other more time consuming jobs they must do, such as cleaning the bathrooms or working in the kitchen or laundry. Older children often resent those kinds of tasks and try to avoid them. If they are reprimanded they quickly learn to "talk back". There seem to be several reasons underlying this attitude. One possible reason is that they resent being "treated like little kids", for example being constantly corrected and told when to wash their hands and when to line up to enter or leave the dining room,by counselors who frequently are scarcely older than they are. Another possible factor is that they feel they are doing the job "for the counselor"; they seem to feel these jobs bear no direct relevance to their own needs. Whatever the reasons students do develop the habit of "talking back" to adults when they dislike what they have been told to do.

Although students dislike many aspects of residential school life, such as the regimentation, they do enjoy many other aspects of school life. Sports and other extra-curricular activities are one major source of positive gratification. The students' contact with the wider world is another. Many students take an avid interest in current events, for example, and others are fascinated by a desire to emulate the singers, movie stars and sports stars whom they read about in magazines and see on television. For yet other students academic prowess and high grades become important and meaningful.

The most important attractions of school , however, are the personal relationships which develop; friendships with students from other communities and close relationships with counselors , teachers and foster families. As the students get to know the staff, many of whom live in the dormitories with the students, in class, in activities and in work, many students, especially older ones, confide in their favourite teacher or counselor and seek information and advice about their aspirations and problems. Because of conflicts over school routines these relationships are sometimes strained, but it is clear that many students and staff members derive emotional gratification from them. It is not uncommon for staff members to take students out to dinner on their days off, to take children on short trips or to have one or more children to visit them during the summer.

As the students proceed through school becoming more familiar with the urban Euro-Canadian life style they begin to value education and enjoy school life. Nonetheless, negative feelings about the regimentation of school life and the annual separation from their families remain. The feelings of ambivalence which result are reflected in the attitudes toward school attendance which are characteristic of the students at different times of the year.

Thus in late summer students say they don't want to return to school and when they first return they don't like it. By Christmas, however, they have readjusted to school life and they like it on the whole. By the end of the spring students are reluctant to return home. When they first return home they are happy to see their parents, grandparents, and siblings, although frequently they feel ill at ease with them. As the summer progresses students become bored with the limited range of recreational activities available at the summer settlements and miss many of the conveniences of life at school such as daily baths, hot water and electricity. As the beginning of the school term approaches students are reluctant to leave their families and give up the greater freedom from restriction they have enjoyed during the summer.

These feelings are intensified as they observe their family's preparations for the fall journey to the hunting grounds

The impact of formal education: traditional milieu

Most Cree parents reluctantly allow their children to attend school but feel that the effects are deleterious in many respects. Most parents say that children who have gone away to school for several years come back during the summer unable to speak Cree adequately, unwilling to help with household chores, and generally "sučemuč", which can be translated as rebellious and disrespectful. Our observations confirm that in large measure parents' statements about their children's misbehaviour are justified in terms of traditional norms. However in some cases parents' expectations of misbehaviour lead them to misinterpret their children's actions.

After several years in school children do have great difficulty in speaking Cree and find it hard to communicate meaningfully with their parents or older kin. Older students almost invariably speak English (mixed with Cree) with their peers and siblings. Parents often feel that children talk in English in order to prevent them from understanding what they are saying. Furthermore parents tend to associate the use of English with hostility because when children are angry they often yell at their parents or siblings in English. Parents complain that children fight and quarrel much more after they have gone to school and seem unconcerned about the danger of hurting each other.

Children and parents differ too in their perception of household chores. School children feel that they have been "working" hard all year in their studies and should not have to work so hard doing chores during the summer. Furthermore students have become used to having clean clothing supplied by the laundry and having food prepared by the school kitchen and miss these services. On the other hand parents feel that students have been "lazy" all winter and haven't done any real work while they have had to cope with the ardours of life on the trapline. For this reason parents feel that during the summer school children should help the family to do the washing, cooking,carrying of wood and water, and other tasks. Given these different conceptions about how students should spend the summer, misunderstandings frequently arise and the older students tend to "talk back" to their parents.

In these circumstances students develop negative feelings toward their parents and the traditional life they represent. Accordingly a state of ambivalence results which reflects their growing identity conflict. One observable manifestation of their ambivalence is their tendency to alternate between expressing traditional as compared to White oriented social and occupational goals.

Conversely, parents frequently are annoyed with their adolescent children because, in Cree terms, they are acting immaturely. Because students have been away for so many years during childhood and adolescence they have never had the opportunity to learn the technical and physical skills required for successful bush life. If adolescents leave school and return to their families they are of little use to the hunting group for several years. In contrast, youths who have never gone to school or have gone for only a short time can function effectively in the traditional milieu.

Our data confirms that intergenerational conflict reaches a peak early in adolescence as parents become painfully aware of students' resistance to the traditional life and of their very close association with their student peer group. The emergence of an adolescent subculture based on shared experiences of school and the White world is a new phenomenon for the Mistassini and Waswanipi bands. In the past three years one manifestation of the growing importance of the Cree teenage subculture has been the organization of thriving "Beaver Clubs" for dances and other group activities. Parents disapprove of their teenage children staying out late at Beaver Club functions, the purposes of which they poorly understand. They react to the emergence of this adolescent subculture as a threat to the stability of intrafamilial social controls. For the student however his peer group serves as an important source of behavioural norms and a supplementary model for identification incorporating, in large measure, White middle-class values.

Despite these strains in intrafamilial relations positive affective ties between parents and children generally remain strong. In most cases children feel very unhappy and guilty after arguing or talking back to their parents. Even then problems intrude, for, as one informant told us tearfully, she couldn't even remember how to apologize in Cree to her mother.

Students also retain strong commitments to many traditional norms, for example, generosity and cooperation in interpersonal relations, support for one's family and kin, and concern for the welfare of ageing parents. The ability to speak and understand Cree is also still valued highly. Because they retain strong positive feelings for their parents and kin and because many traditional values and practices continue to be deeply meaningful to them, marked identity conflict among Cree adolescents is widespread. These students do not want to abandon their families and their culture in order to assimilate into Euro-Canadian society. But neither do they want to renounce the White-oriented middle class or working class aspirations they have acquired during their school careers.

IDENTITY CONFLICT AND ITS RESOLUTION: FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES

Review of the AAI protocols reveals that by early adolescence the 'White' identity model has become meaningful for those Cree students who have developed emotionally supportive relationships with one or more of their teachers or dormitory counselors and have not experienced serious difficulties in coping with school work. By this time students have begun to develop a complex of educational, occupational and social aspirations that are as yet imprecise but are clearly non-traditional. Nonetheless the strength of family relationships is such that these students also retain significant emotional commitments to the 'Traditional' identity model.

Data from the protocols of thirteen and fourteen year old students indicates that on one hand they wish to go on with their schooling, become mechanics, bush pilots or doctors, live in towns or cities and raise small families. On the other hand they equally wish to be hunters and trappers, live in the bush and at the summer settlements, marry Cree girls chosen by their parents, and have large families who would eventually help them on the trapline. Similarly, girls wish to be stewardesses, secretaries or nurses while at the same time retaining a deep desire to return to their families, have their marriages arranged by their parents and fulfill traditional adult female roles.

At this early stage of identity conflict students often do not consciously conceptualize the incompatibilities inherent in their divergent aspirations. Our data suggests that in their wish to win approval from and avoid anxiety provoking confrontation with both traditional kin and significant Whites, these students initially attempt to resolve identity conflict through fantasy formation. That is, they attempt by means of fantasy to gratify their wish to simultaneously incorporate both a Traditional and a White identity. To the extent that these efforts are successful, affective ties with both parents and White parent surrogates are not seriously strained.

However, attempts to resolve identity conflict in this way are no longer effective in later adolescence. Identity conflict intensifies as unavoidable and sharpening confrontations occur with parents.

Review of the protocols collected from students age fifteen to seventeen shows that: 1) there is frequently a marked disparity between these individuals' stated social, educational and occupational aspirations and their expectations of achievement, 2) there is a strong tendency toward feelings of inadequacy and fears of failure among those students whose goals most closely resemble those of middle class Whites, and 3) there is evidence that in some cases anxiety generated by identity conflict is sufficiently intense to produce recognizable and even marked psychopathology.[13]

Drawing on our global assessment of the data contained in the 109 AAI protocols, we hypothesize that attempts to resolve identity conflict will take one of three major directions: a) polarization toward a 'White' identity model, b) polarization toward a 'Traditional' model, or c) synthesis of the two models.

Polarization toward a White identity model

It is hypothesized that Cree students who have internalized feelings of rejection in their family relationships and have established emotionally supportive relationships with White surrogate parents will be more likely to polarize toward a White identity model.

Anxiety aroused by separation from parents is characteristic of children attending day school for the first time. But for Cree children at residential school, the complete separation from parents for the ten-month school year causes a significant rupture in family relationships which exacerbates pre-existing fears of rejection and contributes to the child's tendency to interpret separation as rejection. Our field observations of family interaction have established that feelings of rejection arise in many children when they return to their families for the summer and are strongly criticized by adult kin for being "lazy" and "rebellious". These feelings are further intensified by the invidious comparisons parents draw between students and their siblings who have had little or no formal education.

Death of a parent during the student's childhood is commonly reported by Cree adolescents. Feelings of rejection are described by a number of students in our sample who have been raised by a step-parent. These students feel that the step-parent cares little about them and is only concerned about their half-siblings and step-siblings. Our field observations indicate that such rejection does occur.[14]

It is hypothesized that students who are affected by circumstances such as those outlined suffer an impairment in self-esteem that leads to growing feelings of insecurity and inadequacy. Resentment directed toward the rejecting parent increases the strain on intrafamilial affective ties, intensifies identity conflict and contributes to the student's polarization toward a White identity model.

The effect of internalizing feelings of rejection is to push the individual away from the 'Traditional' identity model. However there are also factors pulling him toward the 'White' identity model. It is hypothesized that the most important factor in this regard is the development of emotionally meaningful relationships with White teachers, counselors and foster families, who thus come to serve as parent surrogates representative of the White middle or working class. Data from AAIs and observations in the residential schools show that a considerable number of Cree students do form close supportive relationships with their teachers, counselors and foster families. In some cases, however, profound feelings of parental rejection are a major factor underlying the student's search for a substitute relationship. The result is that the stability of the relationship is jeopardized to the degree that the student carries over his fears of rejection from parents to White parent surrogates.

A close friend or an older sibling who has developed a White oriented identity can also be an important model for identification and encourage White polarization. Finally it is possible that with continuing change in parental values, polarization toward a White identity model may be encouraged explicitly or implicitly by the parents themselves.

Attempts to resolve identity conflict through White polarization are fraught with difficulties. The student begins with a devalued self-image and a sense of inadequacy as a result of internalized feelings of parental rejection. In polarizing toward a White identity model, feelings of inadequacy and fears of failure in achieving his aspirations in the White world are subsequently aroused. These feelings and fears are heightened by the student's growing awareness of condescension and prejudice by Whites. Feelings of hopelessness and a sense of emotional isolation follow, thus increasing anxiety and intensifying rather than resolving identity conflict.

The extent to which polarization toward a White identity model could be expected to represent a successful resolution of identity conflict would depend on the degree of congruence between the student's goals, his potential to achieve them and the degree to which access to the dominant White society is possible or encouraged (Chance 1965; Graves 1967; Berreman 1964; Parker 1964).

Polarization toward a Traditional identity model

It is hypothesized that polarization toward a traditional Cree identity will be likely to occur when the child has started school at a relatively advanced age (beyond age ten) by which time enculturation along traditional lines is far advanced. In such cases sex-appropriate traditional role behaviours have been reinforced and traditional modes of gratification have been internalized to a high degree. But in order for this process of enculturation to result in a firm emotional commitment to the traditional life, the child must be secure in his relationship to parents, close kin and other individuals who have played key roles in his pre-school socialization. Where these conditions are fulfilled it is hypothesized that the 'Traditional' identity model will retain its strength during subsequent years of formal education in the White urban milieu, and be reinforced during summers spent with the family. Explicit and implicit devaluation by Whites of traditional values and traditional modes of behaviour could be expected to provoke reactions of defensive withdrawal in these students, and encourage polarization toward the 'Traditional' identity model. But this would not engender the devaluation of self-image characteristic of the group previously described.

It is hypothesized that this type of polarization will successfully resolve identity conflict if traditional roles, or modifications of them, are still available and continue to provide gratification for these individuals when they stop attending school.[15]

Synthesis of identity models

The third possible means by which identity conflict can be resolved is through the synthesis of both 'White' and 'Traditional' models. It is hypothesized that this will occur given the following conditions: 1) positive affective parent-child relationships in the pre-school period and their reinforcement during summers when the student is reunited with his family, 2) some degree of encouragement, or at least the absence of strong parental opposition toward the student's educational and occupational aspirations, 3) development of positive affective ties with a) those Whites (teachers, counselors, foster families) and b) those Indians (adult kin, older siblings and friends, whose White orientations have not been accompanied by rejection of Indian values and personal ties) who serve as models for the building of the student's ego ideal and reinforce his aspirations, and 4) the elaboration of social, educational and occupational goals consistent with the student's potential for their achievement.

Where this synthesis of identity models is successful, it is hypothesized that anxiety will be reduced and identity conflict resolved. The student achieves an effective integration of values and behavioural patterns derived from the dominant 'White' culture without becoming psychologically alienated from his family and the cultural values they embody. For this process to be successful, the individual would require sufficient familiarity with and access to institutions of the White world (economic, legal, social, and political) so that his goals could be effectively pursued. It would require that appropriate opportunities be available in the region so that the individual could maintain contacts with family and community.[16]

The collection of AAI protocols from Waswanipi adolescents attending schools at Brantford and Sault Ste. Marie makes it possible to test an additional hypothesis,that synthesis of identity models will be more likely to occur among Waswanipi students. This hypothesis is based on research reports and field notes of the Cree Developmental Change Project (La Rusic, 1967; Tanner, 1967) indicating that adults of the Waswanipi band, in contrast to those of the Mistassini band, have had more formal education, have more positive attitudes toward non-traditional occupational roles and formal education for their children, and have had more experience in the Euro-Canadian economic system.

RESEARCH FINDINGS: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

In this section, case material is presented to illustrate identity conflict and its resolution. Particular attention is directed toward the illustration of attempts at resolution of identity conflict through the synthesis of identity models. To set the case illustrations within the framework of the study as a whole, some statistical findings are outlined. In the final report statistical and more extensive clinical analyses will be presented to clarify the etiology of identity conflict and test the hypotheses previously outlined.

A total of 109 AAIs were completed , of which 51 were of males, and 58 of female students. The total of 109 protocols was obtained from 15 students (9 Mistassini and 6 Waswanipi) attending high school in Sault Ste. Marie, 69 teenage elementary students of the Mistassini band enrolled in schools in La Tuque, and 25 Waswanipi adolescents at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford.[17]

On the basis of a global assessment of each AAI, individual protocols were rated with respect to clearly defined identity conflict (C), synthesis of identity models (S), polarization toward the Traditional identity model (T), and psychopathology (P). No separate category was utilized for cases of polarization toward the 'White' identity model because most such cases revealed clear evidence of identity conflict and were included in that category. The majority of students with recognizable psychopathology is comprised of individuals who have attempted, with little success as yet, to resolve identity conflicts through 'White' polarization.

It will be understood from the foregoing that in some cases identity conflict and psychopathology may both be present and clearly defined. In other cases there may be evidence of both identity conflict and synthesis of models. The reason that more than one category may be applicable for an individual student is that the process of identity formation is being examined before the youth under study have completed their adolescence. Further attempts at resolution of conflict will occur as adolescence proceeds and knowledge of their outcome would require follow-up evaluation at the end of adolescence, (a study the authors wish to carry out at a later date). Therefore the combined incidence of (C), (S), (T), and (P) is greater than the total number of individuals studied.

Of the 109 students interviewed, 46 (42%) show clear evidence of identity conflict. In 39 cases (36%) there are strong indications of synthesis of identity models. The protocols of 36 adolescents (33%) reveal marked polarization toward the Traditional model. Identity confusion characterizes 15 subjects (14%) whose attempts at resolution of identity conflict have miscarried to the extent that psychopathological symptoms are discernible. The distribution of these four categories by sex and school locale is given in Table II.

TABLE II: Distribution of clearly identifiable cases of identity conflict (C), synthesis of identity models (S), 'Traditional' identification (T), and psychopathology (P) according to sex and school locale.

	(C)		(S)		(T)		(P)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
School locale								
La Tuque	7	22	16	5	11	13	1	12
Brantford	7	2	2	4	4	8	1	1
Sault Ste.Marie	6	2	8	4	0	0	1	0
Total	20	26	26	13	15	21	3	13

Comparison of findings for high school students with those of elementary students indicates that while identity conflict is more characteristic of high school students (53%) than it is of students whose school careers are less extensive (40%), the incidence of synthesis of identity models increases as the experience of formal education in urban settings increases. That is, 80% of protocols collected from high school students at Sault Ste. Marie reveal clearly defined synthesis of identity models compared with 29% of the La Tuque and Brantford samples. Furthermore, only one high school student out of fifteen gave clear evidence of psychopathology compared with 15 (16%) of the 94 elementary students studied. Contrary to our hypothesis there were no statistically significant differences in global ratings of (C) and (S) between Mistassini and Waswnipi high school students.

The relatively small number of high school students makes meaningful comparisons difficult, but these findings do suggest that with increasing years of formal education in a 'White' urban environment, especially under conditions of living with a White family, identity conflict among Cree adolescents is increasingly and successfully resolved through synthesis of identity models, rather than resulting in identity confusion and manifest symptomatology. Finally, with increasing years at school, polarization toward the Traditional identity model becomes less and less common as a means of coping with identity conflict. No cases of (T) polarization were recorded for high school students. The major reason for this finding is that those students with strong traditional orientation tend to stop school at an earlier stage in their academic careers.

Case Studies

In the following presentations of case material drawn from four AAI protocols, each case includes a summary and brief analysis, the purpose of which is to delineate the major areas of unconscious conflict that can be inferred from the AAI responses. There are two major indicators of such conflict: the degree of anxiety that becomes manifest in connection with specific questions in the interview schedule, and the nature of inconsistencies in responses to questions probing such key topics as parental attitudes, the strength of intrafamilial relationships, future aspirations and expectations and feelings of inadequacy.

The four cases have been selected to illustrate the early development of identity conflict, the characteristics of marked identity conflict associated with 'White' polarization, and the nature of both early and more advanced attempts to resolve identity conflict through synthesis of identity models.

One of the fundamental problems in research on identity conflict is how to demonstrate its presence in puberty or early adolescence when the individual's ability to discuss or even verbalize his inner feelings may be very limited. This problem appeared to be the more serious for research with Cree youth in view of the culturally-determined reticence characteristic of the Cree (see Preston, 1966). Reticence in talking about feelings, especially those negative emotions of anger or disappointment which relate to parents or parent surrogates, and the culturally-determined reluctance to speculate about an uncertain future represented the two most difficult obstacles to obtaining detailed information. These difficulties were especially apparent with students in early adolescence. In some cases limited fluency in English made establishment of rapport and communication of complex feelings even more difficult.[18]

However it did prove possible to elicit clear evidence of the emergence of identity conflict in early adolescence, as illustrated by the first of the case presentations, that of a 13 year old Waswanipi boy.[19]

Case One

A.B. has been attending residential school for six years, is in Grade six, and has a good command of English. He is a cheerful, friendly boy, who was relatively easy to interview. He likes school, especially the sports activities and is a very enthusiastic member of one of the school hockey teams. His active interest in academic work is somewhat unusual among students his age. He gets along quite well with peers from the Waswanipi region, and has a number of good friends at school. He likes his dormitory supervisor and does not find it difficult to talk with him.

A.B.'s father is a trapper, a man in his mid-forties. During the summer the family lives at a frontier settlement (Pothier, 1968a) where the father is employed at the IAB's commercial fishing operations packing fish and loading it for shipment. (La Rusic, 1968a; Tanner, 1968). His father had no formal education but is able to speak and understand English to some extent. His mother, who has a Grade nine education and speaks English, is unusual in this respect among women of her generation. However, she has adopted a traditional life-style, helping her husband on the trap-line, preparing furs, cooking and caring for the children. A.B.'s two older siblings have attended high school and one is presently working in a large city. He likes the kind of work his father does and says that he would like to be a trapper and fisherman himself one day.

But he also wants to finish school. He says this in a somewhat questioning tone, but he thinks he'd like to go as far as Grade twelve; "then go to work" (by which he means wage employment). A.B. thinks he might "help build the roads" or else "fly one of them(bush) planes."[20] Talking about where he would like to live when he stopped school, A.B. became anxious, and after some delay mentioned Mistassini. Then he named a city in northern Ontario. Toward the end of the interview, when this subject was discussed again, he mentioned two other cities, one in southern Quebec, the other in northern Ontario. He did not choose any location in the Waswanipi region.

He was happy to return home for the summer; to go fishing with his brother or father, and especially to help his father prepare and pack fish for shipment. But at the end of the summer he was also glad to see his friends again at school, and to resume his schoolwork, which he finds easy to do. Answering questions in class does not make him nervous, in contrast to the majority of younger Cree students.

He likes school, but he feels that his parents do not want him to continue. His father, he whispered, "really feels lonely. There are just two in the tent. He wants me to quit. They both want me to quit. My mother says to help my father because he has nobody to help him in the bush. But I don't say anything. I don't want to quit."

When asked if he has trouble deciding things, A.B. became tense, picked at the back of his hand, and slumping over so that only the top of his head was visible above the desk surface, he shook his head to indicate 'no'. At another point in the interview he seemed to be on the point of tears as he covered his face with his hand and nodded affirmatively in response to the question: "Do you often feel that your parents don't understand how you feel about things". In response to the follow up question, if he was thinking about school, he again nodded affirmatively, but could not be drawn out verbally. He feels unhappy more often at home than at school. However, when he is at home, and is worried about things, he confides in his older brother, who encourages him to keep on with his education.

A.B.'s anxiety and ambivalence with respect to education and its implications in terms of conflict with his parents is revealed once again when he is asked to give his opinion of the following situation:

> "Two people are talking: the first says that it is better for children to stay in school as long (many years) as they can. The second person says that it is better to stay in school a few years but come back (home) soon to learn the Indian ways. What do you think about that?"

A.B. chose the alternative of limited schooling but could not explain the reasons for his choice.

This question relating to the value of education is one of a series of five value orientation questions structured in a similar way, with the student being asked to choose between a generally traditional and a generally 'modern' or acculturated alternative in a given situation. A.B.'s choices tended to be traditional. He felt that Indians, and particularly his father, like trapping and don't want to stop if given the alternative of steady wage employment. He felt that trapping was easier work than wage employment, and that the traditional use of the drum in hunting should be continued. He favoured the alternative of the government providing the Waswanipi band with a new reserve near a road rather than allocating each man his own individual land to use as he desired. However he explained his choice on the basis that "when we buy cars we can go someplace," indicating in some measure a wish to get away from the reserve (life).

The importance and usefulness of owning a car appears again when he talks about the possibility of having a family of his own. He thought he would like to have five children. When asked why, he became silent, looked away from the interviewer, and eventually replied in a whisper: "cause when they grow up, they'll work and have lots of money and buy a car..." His reply also reveals that he wishes his children to have wage employment rather than traditional roles, and to adopt White value orientations relating to personal achievement and material possessions.

A.B. specified two types of work he might like to do when he grows up: "transport fish" and "be a doctor". Earlier in the interview he thought he would like to work on road construction or as a bush pilot. He looked worried and refused to speculate about what kind of work he most likely would be doing when he was ten years older. He was also reluctant to speculate about where he would probably be living when he grew up saying that he might die before then. Assuming he was alive though, he chose a city in southern Quebec.

In a final group of questions, A.B. is asked: "If you had $500. how would you use it?" This question is followed by others dealing with what his father and mother would do with a like sum. The purpose of these questions is to assess the degree to which the student retains the traditional high valuation of sharing; of contributing to the welfare of the family as a whole, rather than placing primary emphasis on individual property and achievement. The individual's choice of items he would purchase could, in addition, point to his choice of life-style, and reflect the direction of his attempts to resolve identity conflict. In the present case, A.B. gave the following ranked order of personal choices: 1) "I'd buy a house;" 2) "a Honda"; 3) "a boat with a motor on it"; and 4)"a skidoo". He thought that his father would use $500 "the same way as me." The ranked order of choices for his father was: a house, a boat, a gun, a motorcycle. He thought his mother would buy household utensils, a dress, and "a birthday present for me". This series of answers suggests that strongly positive affective ties are maintained with both parents, to the extent that he fantasizes his father choosing, like himself, a house, a boat, and a motorcycle, while his mother shows her continuing affection for him by buying him a birthday present. While the significance of the choice of the house could only be clarified by A.B.'s answer to the follow-up question about where he might like the house to be located, there is ample evidence that he would prefer to live in a city rather than on a reserve. And his choice of a motorcycle appears to parallel his earlier remarks about the value of a car. Thus, although the theme of wishing to live in a city is repeated, A.B.'s simultaneous wish to maintain close ties with his family, and his anxiety about separation from parents and traditional attachments are reflected in his other choices: the boat and motor for fishing and the skidoo for trapping, an item that has its equivalent in his choice of a gun for his father.

The desire to maintain solidarity with his father, to be helpful to him, "to go along with him" in life even in the face of grave danger, can be recognized in A.B.'s account of a recurrent dream, the only one he can remember:

> "We were going up a mountain, my father and me. The rocks fell and my father and I fell down, and then I started to yell. I woke up and I got scared."

In summary, A.B. is experiencing an early stage of identity conflict. His principal model for identification is his father, with whom he maintains a strongly positive relationship. A.B. would like to follow his father's traditional life-style; to stop school and "learn the Indian ways"; to help his father hunt, trap and fish. But White working-class and middle-class identity models are assuming considerable importance at the same time. These models are represented by his teachers and dormitory supervisor, with whom he relates positively, and his two older siblings, one of whom he confides in and who encourages him to continue his education and the other of whom has adopted an urban White working-class life-style. His choices of where he would like to live mainly involve cities and do not include the Waswanipi region where his parents live. The occupational roles he might like are predominantly White working-class type; road construction, bush pilot, and "transporting fish", but they all would allow him to live in the Waswanipi-Mistassini region and thereby retain the close contact with his family that is strongly reassuring to him.

With respect to educational aspirations there is manifest conflict with his parents. He expresses the wish to finish school, and even perhaps to become a doctor. But he feels that his parents are opposed to these aspirations and want him to stop school. This subject of conflict arouses marked anxiety in A.B. which he attempts to defend against by suppressing the conflict and repressing the hostile impulses toward his parents which are aroused by it. Accordingly he reluctantly devalues prolonged education in preference to the alternative of returning to learn the Traditional life way after a few years of school. Again he emphasizes his wish for unity with his father in the recurrent dream of their striving together.

Nonetheless negative feelings for the traditional life style may be inferred not only from his stated desire to live in an urban setting and work for wages (rather than go trapping like his father), but also from the choices of work and life style he fantasizes for his children. These choices could well reflect the displacement of his own wishes onto his children. The indirect expression of his wishes in this way appears to reflect his marked apprehension about being able to achieve his aspirations in the face of parental opposition.

Another possible indication of negative feelings for the traditional life is his considerable preoccupation with the value of a car (or a motorcycle) as a means of "going someplace". The implication cannot be overlooked that he equally wishes to go away from someplace or something he does not like.

A.B. attempts to reduce his anxiety and resolve identity conflict by means of a fantasized simultaneous gratification of his wishes to incorporate both identity models. He maintains a fantasied solidarity with his parents by adopting a variety of traditional choices with respect to education (limited), occupation (trapping, packing fish) and social scale (living on the reserve, retaining close ties with kin, participating in the religious life of the hunting group). At the same time he fantasizes gratification of White oriented occupational roles (doctor, bush pilot), residential pattern (city or large town) and social aspirations (prolonged education, wage employment, material possessions - house, car, large income - for his children if not for himself). It must be emphasized though that at the present time A.B. is hardly consciously aware of any conflict with his family or within himself, and does not recognize the conflicting wishes and attempts at their resolution which emerge from the AAI protocol responses.

Case Two

As adolescence advances and identity conflict intensifies the direction of the individual's attempts to resolve that conflict becomes amenable to more detailed investigation as the following case illustrates.

This case concerns a 16 year old girl who is enrolled in Grade seven at a community school while she continues to live at the residential school (dormitory). Each winter her father "goes hunting . Except this winter; he was helping like to build the houses" (at the summer settlement). She is the eldest of four children. Her parents have spent the past several summers near a small tourist lodge, where her father works as a fishing guide. During the past summer C.D. worked at the lodge as well; "cleaning up the cabins where the tourists were, and washing the dishes. The boss asked me to work there and my father said it was O.K. if I wanted to." Neither of her parents has been to school. Her mother, she said, "works around our place, like washing clothes, cutting the wood, washing the dishes and all that." Asked if she would like to do that kind of work, C.D. rather suddenly lost her animated manner and slowly, reluctantly replied in the affirmative. "If I stayed home I would. If I stopped school I guess I would do it, but....well, yes, I guess so."

C.D.started school eight years ago at a northern frontier town, but prefers her present school because, "well, it's different. Like that other place wasn't a town, I guess I like the town (here). There's more to do."

She does not find it difficult to talk with the counselors at the school residence. "Some of them, the ones I know, I like to sit down and carry on a conversation with them." Her favourite counselor is an Indian girl of another tribe, a few years older than herself. "She talks to me about education. She tells me not to quit; she's trying hard for me to get through school. And we talk about home problems too. Well, I mean - like I don't think my parents want me to come back to school next fall and she tells me to try hard to come back."

C.D. has not lived with a 'White' family, but has stayed with one for a few days. "I met their daughter in the Girl Guides when I first came to school here. She asked me to come and stay with them for Christmas. It was a lot different from school. Here (at school) you can't stay up and watch the TV; and it seemed more quiet there."

She feels that she has little difficulty making friends, either with Indian or White students, and listed a number of girls at the residence as close friends. But she did not include any of her White classmates among her friends. She says that she does not have trouble getting along with her White classmates; "but maybe with the other kids, like in Grade nine and up. Some of them are friendly, but some are, well, I don't know what to call them. The first year I went to this school they'd talk to me, but now they don't talk to me at all. I guess they're shy. But I have some (White) friends too. One of them is in Grade nine and two are in Grade ten. My friend Janet, she says I'm real shy. I mean, I talk to anyone who talks to me, but ... I don't know. Well, sometimes I'd go to school alone and I'd find myself in a group with White kids, like with Janet and the other two kids I know. But when the others come I get really nervous and shy and can't talk to them. I don't know them I guess. And when I go to town alone I get really nervous and shy."

In fact she often feels nervous when she is with Whites she doesn't know; with adults as well as with other students. She also feels insecure in her relationship with the counselors. "If one of them asks me to iron their uniforms I get really scared I might burn it or something." She becomes upset if her counselors or friends criticize her.

C.D. would like to continue her education; "to finish it. Here it's up to Grade eleven." She has had no difficulty with schoolwork until this year when she encountered some problems with her language course; but this may be a sign of her anxiety about not doing well in that subject since the language teacher is her favourite teacher. Asked what she would do when she finished school, she replied; "I haven't made up my mind yet between a nurse's course or a secretary's course." She was reluctant to speculate about the sort of work she might like her husband to do: "I never thought about it - maybe work, or teach, - I don't know."[21]

As for where she might like to live when she finished school, she immediately mentioned Montreal. No other choices were given. Toward the end of the interview when these subjects were referred to again, C.D. thought that if she could live anywhere she liked in ten years time, she would prefer "to live the way I'm living now; the White man's way." She named two towns where she would like to live, the one where the school is located, the other where her friend Janet's family lives. On the condition that she was able to finish school, she remained firm in her desire to be a nurse or a secretary. "But", she added in a tone of resignation, "if I can't go through school, I guess I'll go back home and then I'll probably be doing the same kind of work as my mother."

C.D. was happy to return home for the summer. "Well, you know, after being in school ten months and not seeing my parents and my little brother." She was also happy to return to school at the end of the summer; "to continue to go to school, to get to know more."

She feels that her parents are not in favour of her further attendance at school. "Well, when I started my father liked the idea, but later when I was growing up he thought I'd be helpful - like to help my mother with all the things at home, and he wanted me to stop going to school. I guess he changed his mind because when I was younger he said that I could finish (school)". Her father began to talk to her about stopping school during the preceding summer. "He was telling me to quit. But I don't want to quit. He said they needed help and my mother wanted to teach me the Indian way of living, making moccasins and snowshoes and all that." Her mother, she said, felt the same way as her father. "She wanted me to help her at home and she wanted to teach me the Indian way of living." C.D. felt ill-at-ease during the summer at home. She was particularly upset by the disagreement with her parents about her education. "Like my father said; 'next summer when you come home you're not going to go back to school.' I wouldn't mind to quit if I fail, but if I pass I'd like to go back. It's just that I know how important it is, and they're wanting me to quit. It's hard I guess. They have never been to school. And I'm used to living this way in the school and its different back home; you know, the taps, the running water and electricity and all that."

She has been worried and unhappy about this situation and has talked it over with her counselor; "but sometimes I'd want to just keep it to myself. She'd see that something was wrong and she'd ask me. But she can't really help."

In response to the question as to whether it was better for Indian children to stay in school or return after a few years to learn the Indian ways, she looked sad as she said: "I think - I don't know, it's hard. I'd choose the first one (to stay in school), but the second one is how I think my parents see it." She was certain, however, in her conviction that Indians would be willing to stop trapping if they could get a good job.

While discussing her anxiety about school and the conflict with her parents about remaining at home to help her mother, C.D. spoke about feeling frightened sometimes; "like having a nightmare that my parents and I are going on the lake and the waves are really big and the boat tips over. Or when I dream about having an accident; breaking an arm or something like that." These were the only dreams she could remember.

Asked to describe the qualities required of a good chief, she thought he should be "a man who is not shy to speak up, who is understanding - and - a man who doesn't drink too much." The last quality was mentioned with considerable hesitation, and spoken in a whisper. She also felt that a good chief ought to be able to speak English. With respect to education, she noted that "there aren't many who have been to school. To the Indians it wouldn't make any difference, but I think it would be better if the chief had gone to school."

C.D. had mentioned that she might like her husband "to work"; perhaps to be a teacher. She was asked toward the end of the interview if she would prefer to marry a White boy or an Indian boy. She replied that; "it doesn't matter to me. My mother said that if I married an Indian I wouldn't be able to (know how to) make him moccasins and things, but she didn't say for the White. I guess she wouldn't mind if I married an Indian who didn't have a Band number, like those girls who get married back home and go to live in town."

At this point in the AAI the following alternative choice question is asked:

> "Two young Indians were talking; one said that when it is time to get married, the wife or husband should be chosen by the parents; everyone will be happier that way. The other person said that the young people should choose their wife or husband by themselves. What do you think about that?"

C.D. became tense and restless and replied that she didn't know how to answer. "The first way is the way some of the Indians back home do it, and the second way - well, I couldn't say anything about it. I haven't seen it. I guess that's just the way they (Whites) want it."

She laughed and shrugged in embarrassment at the following questions about how many children she might like to have, replying: "Two, I guess that's all I want. Ten is too many, you couldn't keep track of them. They'd be running all around and they might get into trouble." Since the great majority of Cree students list more than six siblings in their own families, this response has considerable significance. It can be inferred that a distinct preference for a small family indirectly expresses devaluation of the traditional female role and the wish to adopt a non-traditional life style.

In response to the final series of AAI questions referring to how she, her father, and her mother might each make use of $500., C.D. said that: "Some of it would go to my parents, and the rest on myself, like buying clothes. And if I had any left I'd put it in the bank and start saving." She felt that her father would "buy food, I guess, and clothing for the family. Maybe he'd get a boat and a motor, and pay for his bills and supplies (in preparation for the winter in the bush)." She thought her mother would probably buy food, clothing and groceries.

This case is described in some detail not because it is unique, but because it is representative of the majority of those Cree adolescents whose efforts at resolution of identity conflict have resulted in a polarization toward the White middle-class or working-class identity model. In C.D.'s case there is strong evidence of the desire to continue her education, to go on to become a nurse or a secretary, to live in a city, to marry a man either Indian or White who had an education and training equivalent to her own (such as teacher), to have a small family, material comforts and money in the bank. It seems reasonable to speculate that the qualities she ascribes to a 'good chief' might easily be qualities she would look for in a husband: a man who is understanding, who does not drink to excess, who is able to assert himself effectively, who has an education and a fluent command of English. Or, as she succinctly puts it, she wants to "live the White man's way". More specifically perhaps, she aspires to an urban middle-class life style and polarizes strongly toward the White middle-class identity model.

However, her confidence in achieving her aspirations is by no means great. On the one hand she has marked feelings of inadequacy and displays considerable anxiety about her acceptability to Whites, both peers and adults. And on the other hand, she feels that her parents have no sympathy for or understanding of the White oriented aspirations that become increasingly clear as her school career continues.

Her anxiety about being rejected by White peers, but not by Cree peers is evident from the people she lists as good friends, all of whom are Cree girls of her age-group.

Although she denies having difficulty in getting along with White children in her class at school, her feelings of rejection are poignantly expressed when she remarks that, "the first year I went to school there they'd talk to me, but now they don't talk to me at all....". Or when she describes her friendship with her White classmate Janet, she adds, "but when the others come, I get really nervous and shy and can't talk to them." Feelings of inadequacy in social interactions with White adults are apparent in her remarks about feeling very nervous when she goes into town alone; about feeling upset when the dormitory counselors ask her to do something for them, or when they tell her that she has done something wrong. In all of these circumstances, C.D.'s intense wish to be accepted and liked by White adults and peers generates equally intense feelings of inadequacy and fears of rejection and failure.

As polarization of identity toward the White middle-class model continues, the desire for social integration and the concomitant fears of rejection increase. Furthermore, as goals become more clearly defined, fears of failure intensify. Accordingly fears of failure extend from social to educational goals, and C.D. begins to have academic difficulties (to "find school hard") for the first time.

Academic difficulties also reflect the growing conflict with her parents which became sharply intensified during the preceeding summer when her father told C.D. that: "next summer when you come home, you're not going to go back to school". C.D. had been happy to return home for the summer, to see her parents again after the ten-month separation of the school year. The strength of her relationship with both parents can be inferred not only from her stated desire to spend the previous summer with her parents, but, perhaps more significantly, from the degree of anxiety which the conflict with her parents has generated. She attempts to repress the anger toward her father which has been aroused by what she feels is an inexplicable reversal of his previous support for her educational aspirations. "When I started school he liked the idea, but later ... he wanted me to stop ... I guess he changed his mind, because when I was younger he said that I could finish school."

The desire to replenish strained affective ties with her parents is apparent from her remark that if she had $500 she would want to share it with her parents. It also indicates the continuing strength of internalized traditional values of supporting parents and contributing to the well-being of the kin group. The wish to take her parents' attitudes into account, and the feelings of guilt provoked by the conflict with them over education is brought into focus by C.D.'s response to the AAI question about the relative value of formal education in comparison with traditional enculturation; "I think... I don't know, it's hard (to decide)....I'd choose the first one (prolonged schooling). The second one is how I think my parents see it."

The emergence of increasingly open conflict with her parents not only provokes hostile impulses toward them, but equally gives rise to fears of retaliation by her parents. These fears of parental retaliation find expression in C.D.'s wish to deny the likelihood of her mother's strong disapproval if she were to marry a White. "My mother said that if I married an Indian I wouldn't be able to make him moccasins and things, but she didn't say for the White." She goes on: "I guess she wouldn't mind if I married an Indian who didn't have a band number." That is, by marrying a man who was neither White nor Indian C.D. could satisfy her wish to marry a White without provoking parental censure.

In reaction to the reduction in the emotional security she had derived in the past from a close relationship with her parents, and to their diminished importance as models for identification, C.D. attempts to draw emotional support from the Indian counselor in whom she increasingly confides. This counselor encourages her to continue her education and begins to serve as a substitute model for identification more consistent with this student's White middle-class polarization of identity. Her friend Janet and her family provide additional important models for identification.

Identity conflict in this case is intense. The

'Traditional' identity model retains considerable strength and this girl is decidedly anxious about the sharpening disagreement with her parents over her educational goals and their broader implications with respect to life style. She wishes to retain close affective ties with her parents and kin, to contribute to their well-being and avoid open confrontation with them. However she does not want the way of life represented by her mother: cooking, washing clothes, caring for a large family and helping on the trapline. She does not want to marry a traditional Cree, but rather a person who has a good education and the ability to adapt to, if not integrate with, the dominant White culture. She places great value on completing her education and taking further training as a nurse or secretary, then living in an urban setting. She attempts to resolve her conflict through polarization toward the White middle-class identity model represented by her teachers, counselor and a White friend. But this leads to further anxiety based on feelings of inadequacy and fears of failure in achieving her White oriented aspirations. Thus, while the direction of attempts to resolve identity conflict can be clearly discerned, it is also evident that these attempts have by no means produced a successful resolution of the conflict as yet.

Case Three

A question of central importance in the present study is whether, and to what degree, an individual Cree student can resolve identity conflict by an effective synthesis of the two major identity models. And if this kind of effective synthesis can indeed be achieved, will these students be likely to serve, in turn, as identity models for younger adolescents, particularly younger siblings, experiencing identity conflict?

The two following case presentations focus on these points. The subjects are brothers, aged 19 and 14, whose father has a respected role within the religious life of the community as well as being considered one of the most able hunters of the band. Neither of the parents has had any formal education.

E.F. is the eldest of six siblings. He began his education at age 7, and is presently in his senior year at high school. He has attended his present school for four years. He likes the town where he attends school; "mainly the city life, the variety of things, like the movies and restaurants. There are a lot of recreation facilities available. But you miss the life at home too, which is completely different; fishing and hunting. And there's more freedom at home. When I'm at school I usually dream about home; being with the family or fishing. Then when I'm at home I usually dream about school."

E.F. has been living with a (White) family in the town since he started high school four years ago. He prefers this type of living arrangement to the residential school he had known earlier because "we have more privileges living with a family." His only complaint about the present arrangement is the food, but he feels that it is, nonetheless, superior to the residential school.

Asked if he finds it hard to talk with the family he is staying with, he said; "No, not really. I talk to Dorothy; that's the housewife. Mr. R. is away at work so I don't have a chance to talk with him often. I usually talk with her about problems concerning work at school. Sometimes I tell her about troubles concerning myself, like health or future plans, or life at home, or what comes after high school; what I'd like to be, where I'd like to go." He has been living with the R. family for one year. Before that he stayed three years with another couple. "I got along fine with them too, I'd talk to them about life at home, but I'd never talk about my future plans with them. Well, in a way they didn't have much schooling. They were simple folks. I moved to the R's because (at the other place) you had to walk over a mile to the bus stop from their house. And also a friend of mine (from home) lives with the R's; he coaxed me to move in with them."

E.F. remarked that he had no difficulty making friends. His best friend, he said, is the other Cree student living with the R's. Among five close friends he listed, two are Cree students from his region, two are White classmates, and the other is a Cree student from another region. Asked about how he got along with White students, he gave the following unusually forceful reply: "Well, for one thing, first of all I'd like to say that I usually lead the class at school, so they respect me. Sometimes they ask to borrow my homework." He denied that perhaps his White classmates would not respect him if he did not lead the class. He felt that they were genuinely friendly to him. This feeling was corroborated at several other points in the interview.

However, there is some indication of a lingering anxiety in his interactions with White adults. He feels nervous with unfamiliar White adults, but not with Indians. "Well, they're grown up, they're more mature than I am. Around here they feel the younger generation is different. They'd say; 'When I was young you couldn't do that.'" Referring to his contacts with Whites during summers at the reserve, he remarked that; "American tourists can make it uncomfortable. They act as if they've never seen the Indians before. They take pictures here and there and ask questions like 'where's the tomahawk' and all that."

E.F. states clearly that he wants to continue his education. "I'd like to get an engineering degree. I've decided on engineering, but I haven't exactly decided on whether it will be electrical or mining." He expected that when he had completed his education he would work as an engineer. "I realize I'm not really fit for things you have to do with your hands. I do things better with my mind, working out problems, like making plans for the shaft of a mine so that the minerals can be extracted from the ground the cheapest way possible." At another point in the interview he thought that in ten years time he would like to work as a mining engineer, but felt that there was a strong possibility he would in fact be employed in prospecting and surveying. "I'd like to do that because a lot of the trappers find minerals but never get them analyzed."

He thought that he would ultimately like to live in a city; "not a very large one, a medium-sized city, like this one. A big city is just too much of everything; like noise, always a rush. You can never take your time in a big city." Later in the interview he said that he would prefer to live in a mining town. "An ideal city would be not very large, not far from the bush and not located in densely populated areas; well, like _____ (a mining town near the reserve). He had in fact worked for a mining company in a town near the reserve during the past two summers. "I did electrical work. I liked it, but I felt really nervous when I was interviewed for the job. But the manager - he's very understanding. He's very much for integration of the Indians, so he does what he can to get the Indians into the cities." He thought it was very likely that in ten years time he would be living in a town like that. "I'll probably be in a town up north, near (the reserve), but I'll be working, not trapping."

With some hesitation and a clear lack of enthusiasm, E.F. answered affirmatively when asked if he had been happy to return home last summer. "I liked being with the family and seeing friends; getting back to a generally Indian life and getting away from the city. It's quiet up there. But there's no recreation facilities, no (movie) theatres. Sometimes I feel it's too remote up there, away from any large town. And there's very little communications - transportation facilities are poor. I was glad to come back to school and get back to the city life again. You miss home I guess, at least for a while, but it's another step toward my life."

Turning once again to the subject of school, E.F. pointed out that academic requirements were not an obstacle for him, but he did sometimes feel nervous answering questions in class. "It depends on the subject. If it's math or physics I can answer with no difficulty, but if it's English or poetry I may have the answer but I can't find the words to explain it. English is not my native language and I can't get the hang of poetry."

Describing his father's attitude toward his plans for finishing school and becoming an engineer, E.F. said; "Well, when I started school, from Grade one to Grade six he didn't like it. He wanted to get me out. But he couldn't get me out because the Indian agent wouldn't let me go. Then after I came here he had nothing to say about it; he'd leave it up to me. I think he's beginning to see the value of it now though. He usually says (now); 'You should have very little trouble getting a job in the mine.' And to him, another language beside the Cree is a valuable asset. If he spoke English or French he says he would want to get skilled training."

Speaking about his father's occupation, E.F. noted that; "in the winter he traps, and in the summer he cuts pulp. My younger brother goes with my father on the trap-line and also helps him cut pulp. He usually interprets for my father too. I'm kind of rusty myself in Cree language, so I can't interpret very much for my father." E.F. feels that; "There's no future in trapping and cutting pulp. I really wouldn't like to trap; it's a dying art. I cut pulp with my father once and I didn't like it. It's hard work; a lot of flies. And we (Indians) usually get the poor woods (i.e. - "bad bush"

(La Rusic, 1968a)) to cut anyway, so you can't make much money."

E.F. feels that his mother is opposed to his educational and occupational aspirations. "I think she's against it. She thinks I should be out on the trap line helping my dad. She thinks it's because he had to trap all by himself that my dad almost drowned when he fell through the ice. She feels that one of us should be out there with him.[22] My father is not a healthy person. He's been in hospital quite a few times. My mother and my aunt had it (the same infective type of illness) too. So it's out of a concern for my father that my mother feels I should help him out. It upsets me when they say, especially my mother, that I'm doing the wrong thing going to school. After thirteen years at school they feel I should have got something by now - like electrician - and they're surprised that I haven't taken a trade (course) yet."

He continued that he often thinks about his family and feels very unhappy about his inability to make his parents understand why he doesn't want to stop school. But he feels more acutely unhappy and ill-at-ease when he is at home. He worries about his future. "If I don't get my education completed I feel it's going to turn out badly. I don't know the first thing about trapping, so what can I do?"

His responses to the series of questions contrasting traditional and 'modern' value orientations were thoughtfully considered and highly revealing. He thinks it is better for children to stay in school because; "you'll have a more solid future the longer you stay in school, and when you've completed your education you can get better jobs." He feels that most Indians would be willing to stop trapping if they could get jobs. "Talking with the Indian people that's what they all say over the past ten years because the beaver prices are dropping. But the older people feel that they're too old to be accepted into any industrial work."

He did not feel that the government should provide the Indians with new reserves. "The government should give each man some land. On a reserve the Indian people would be shut off from the outside world. The Indians have to rely on the outside world to make a living, so it's better that they go on (and integrate)."

In E.F.'s opinion, the characteristics of a good chief are; "an understanding of the Indian people, their desires, their goals. He should be a man of action, not a person who would just say he would do things. And - I guess - a man who could get along with the Indian Affairs Department." Such a man would, he insisted, have to be able to speak good English, or else French.

E.F. feels that the choice of a marriage partner should be a matter for the individual to decide. "I've been influenced by the modern society. But it's fascinating that there's no divorce at (home). The system (of arranged marriages) seems to work okay." In his own case he has not been going out with any particular girl and has not contemplated marriage. He wants to finish his education first. He thought that he might eventually want to marry an Indian girl; "well, to preserve the Indian culture - talk Cree. And so I can have Indian food I guess." He thought that his parents would "definitely agree (with his choice). They themselves said I should marry an Indian."

The wish for solidarity with his parents appears again in his remarks on how he and his parents would make use of $500. In his own case he immediately stated that he would make improvements to the family's house. A distinctly second choice was to buy a car. He thought that his father would buy a car; "he's been talking about it for a long time." As for his mother, it seems likely that he projects his own wishes onto her; "she'd probably travel. She always wanted to get out of (the reserve) and see what the outside world is like. She always talks about wanting to see Montreal and Ontario."

In summary, while identity conflict continues to be recognizable in this case, there is strong evidence of successful resolution of that conflict through synthesis of identity models. E.F. takes great pride in his high academic performance and in the respect he is accorded by his peers and classmates. As he puts it; "...I usually lead the class at school, so they respect me. Sometimes they'd like to borrow my homework." The respect of peers and classmates nourishes his self-esteem. It provides important validation of his ego-ideal of becoming a professional engineer. Situations in which his intellectual facility is jeopardized are anxiety-provoking; such as poetry classes. "I may have the answer but I can't find the words to explain it." It would seem to be largely as a consequence of his high academic achievement then that E.F.'s self-esteem has been strengthened and he is able to relate with White peers without experiencing feelings of inadequacy and fears of rejection. Furthermore the goals he has set for himself - to be a mining engineer, living in a northern mining town or small city "not far from the bush" - are fully consistent with his potential to achieve them.

On the basis that a young man's ego-ideal finds expression in the qualities he ascribes to a good leader, E.F.'s criteria of a good chief accurately reflect his high valuation of decisive action based on advanced knowledge. A good chief would be fluent in English or French, would understand the Indians' desires and goals, would be "a man of action, not just say he would do things." And equally important, he "could get along" with White authority. This last quality would require that cordial Indian-White relations could be maintained, but in addition, would require the chief to assert himself vis-a-vis White authority figures if the circumstances required this type of action.

In view of the high valuation he attaches to education it seems reasonable to assume that teachers and dormitory counselors have played and continue to play an important role in his life as models for identification: probably the first significant models of White middle-class life-style. More recently, White 'foster parents,' the mine manager and mining engineers have become additional models for identification. E.F.'s relationship with the woman where he is living is sufficiently close that he is able to confide in her and feels that she understands his problems.

At the same time he has maintained close affective bonds with his parents. He is deeply troubled by his mother's incomprehension of his educational and occupational aspirations, and tries to repress the resentment aroused by her repeated attempts to pressure him into abandoning his education in order to help his father in the bush. He is particularly hurt and angered by his mother's implication that his father nearly drowned because E.F. refused to help him on the trap-line. She has criticized him for his failure to contribute to the family's well-being in that he not only refuses to help his father on the trap-line but he also does not take up wage employment. "It upsets me especially that my mother says I'm doing the wrong thing going to school. Sometimes I feel I should be out with my dad (on the trap-line) because he's not a very healthy person."

Feelings of remorse and guilt have been generated in E.F. by his mother's criticism of his behaviour, and these feelings have been intensified by his realization that his father has been seriously ill, could require hospitalization again at any time, and might die before such time that E.F. will be in a position to contribute significantly to the material support of his family. In this respect he derives great reassurance from his father's recent support of his plans. "He'd leave it up to me. I think he's beginning to see a value of it (continuing his education). He usually says that; 'you should have very little trouble getting a job in the mine...' If he spoke English or French he says he would want to get skilled training (himself)."

The retention of strong affective ties with his parents, of the desire to live in a town near the reserve, to satisfy his parents' wishes that he marry an Indian girl and maintain his Cree language skills, his wish to contribute to the family well-being (to make improvements to their house for example); all of these elements suggest that E.F. has by no means abandoned traditional value orientations. His stable self-image, the absence of academic difficulties, the presence of adequate social relationships with White and Indian peers and important adults, the consistency of his goals and their essential compatibility with his potential for achievement, and finally his deep concern for and continuing attachment to his family support the view that this case represents the successful, if not yet conclusive, resolution of identity conflict by synthesis of identity models.

Case Four

E.F.'s fourteen-year old brother is a Grade seven student at a residential school. His academic performance had been adequate in previous years, but had notably diminished during the present school year. There had been some doubt whether G.H. would in fact return to school after the summer with his family.

In response to the question whether he liked being at school, he laughed and said; "Well, sometimes. I like the sports and the activities." But he doesn't like having homework assignments. "They should let you do it in your own time instead of making you go to study hall." He does not feel nervous when the teacher asks him a question in class. His reaction is "to shout out the answer." Sometimes the teacher asks him to repeat what he had said; "but I don't say the thing over again. One time I got in trouble for it, so I just don't answer." He does not have a favorite teacher, nor is he particularly close to one of the dormitory counselors, although he has no difficulty talking with them.

G.H. does not find it hard to make friends, but has no 'best friend' and mentioned only one boy he considers a close friend. "There's some friends I like at certain activities." With respect to his relations with White peers he meets in town, he was rather guarded. "What do you mean, friendship or work? We're always joking with each other for one thing. I guess I get along with them alright. It depends. If they have the same interests I make friends much better, like in sports."

Asked if he had trouble with his schoolwork, G.H. replied, "it depends on the subjects. Some subjects are easy, but some of them are hard. Arithmetic and French are the hardest ones." Nonetheless, his academic achievement record has been high and he feels that he would like to finish school. "I think I'd like to go to (technical) college or university. I'd like to try for an air piloting course. But sometimes, I get lazy and say I'm going to quit next year. It depends on how I feel each day. Sometimes I think about finishing Grade nine and then getting a job or going to a trade school."

He was vague and defensive about his father's attitude toward his education, saying that he really didn't know what his father thought about it. His father sometimes spoke about school, but G.H. "couldn't really remember" what his father had said. Asked if his father was generally in favor or opposed to him staying in school, G.H. answered; "well, he's in between sort of. He didn't mind me coming to school as long as I got a good education for my life. He wants us to know something, but he doesn't say much (about school) usually. You know how my father's always getting sick though. That's why they (parents) took my brother (out of school) to go (trapping) with him. You never know when he might be getting sick again. My brother wanted to help out with the family and help my father out too." He was much more direct about his mother's attitude. "She's against the whole thing. She says if you keep going to school you can't earn anything. She says that some boys my age go trapping and they at least earn something."

Referring again to his future, G.H. repeated his wish to become a bush pilot, but added that he also thought of becoming a mining engineer. As to where he would like to live when he has finished his education, he felt that; "it's hard to say. It depends where the company is I'm working for." He remarked that his older brother had "worked in the mines last summer" and that he would like to do that type of work himself. The kind of work his father does as a trapper and pulp cutter also appealed to him. "But those guys from the government come and they keep saying they are going to close the trap-lines in a few years time."

He was happy to return home for the summer; "to see my little sister for one thing, and my parents and relatives." However, he was not enthusiastic about returning to school at the end of the summer. "In some ways I didn't want to come back, when you know you're not going to see your parents for the next ten months. It seems so far away from my parents. Sometimes I like it but I wish I wasn't here."

He sometimes worries about his future. "You know what they (people on the reserve) say about the hunting; that it will close down and we should try to make as much money (hunting/trapping) now as possible." He mentioned this in relation to his concern about whether he should stop school to help his father in the bush. This concern is clearly expressed in his response to the value orientation question relating to formal education and traditional enculturation. "It's really hard to choose. It depends on how your family is. If your father dies and you're old enough to work you have to help your family out as much as possible...But if your father's okay then I think you should continue your education." This theme recurs in relation to where he would like to live and what he would do in ten years time. "I'd like to live close to my family and help them all I could." He would not speculate though about what he expected his life would in fact be like in ten years time.

The high value he places on contributing to the well-being of his family in preference to his own personal achievement finds expression in his description of a good chief as; "a man who does good turns to his people and helps them every way he can." At the same time he feels that a good chief needs to be boldly assertive. "Maybe he should be a guy with a big mouth." This may be an indication of his own wish to assert himself with his parents - to pursue his goals of completing his education and becoming a bush pilot or mining engineer.

He feels that the present chief has a good life because; "well, for one thing, he has a good steady job. And he tries to entertain all the people, like with movies, and he organizes dances for the teenagers." This traditionally oriented high valuation of personal generosity is manifest in G.H.'s comment that he would use $500 "to entertain my friends, to treat my friends. And I'd buy presents for my family." In this particular case his wish to be generous to his friends may equally reflect some anxiety about his acceptance by peers, inasmuch as he named only one person as a close friend. Anxiety in social interactions and fears of rejection may also underlie his statement that; "I don't think I'll ever marry. I want to be a bachelor. At least I'll try to be. But my friends are older than me and they keep telling me 'you're going to change your mind'." Anxiety about the potential dangers of intimate interpersonal relations may be seen in his contention that; "young people should pick their own wife because maybe that would prevent quarrels between the wives and husbands."

Ambivalent feelings about the White life-style emerge at several points in the interview. To begin with, he notes that he feels tense in the presence of unfamiliar White adults. He has neither a favorite teacher nor a favorite counselor. Relationships with White students are limited to institutional contacts, such as participation in a hockey league. In relation to the relative merits of the government providing the Indians with a new reserve as compared with individual land holdings, G.H. thinks that; "it's better for them to stick together, to have a reserve together so they can defend themselves if someone (non-Indian) wants to take their land."

The sense of emotional security he derives from family and community attachments may be discerned in his remarks about the relative merits of trapping in comparison with wage employment. "Most of the Indians are (working) building houses now. They stopped trapping because they were getting good pay. But most of them are willing to go trapping again." His comments on the value of the drum in hunting, which he has observed his father use, bear out the same respect for tradition, albeit a somewhat ambivalent respect; "I just don't understand it. It's really hard. Like a witchdoctor; it seems impossible to do the things, but somehow he does them. It's the same with the drum."

This interview, like the one with his older brother, ended with the student asking a number of questions about the relative merits and admission requirements of various universities and technical colleges in Ontario and Quebec.

Reviewing G.H.'s case in comparison with that of his older brother, E.F., several issues may be brought more clearly into focus: (1) the importance of E.F. as an identity model for his younger brother; (2) G.H.'s more elemental and unresolved identity conflict; and (3) G.H.'s early efforts to resolve identity conflict through synthesis of identity models.

Like his older brother, G.H. alludes to his desire to complete his education at several points in the interview. He would like to go to university to become a mining engineer; or at least to complete a technical training as a bush pilot, an occupation which he conceives of as being equivalent to an engineer. He would like to work for a mining company as his brother had done during summer vacations. His brother's orientation toward living in a small northern (mining) town not far from the reserve or his family is also characteristic of G.H., who would like to live "close to my family." Nonetheless, both brothers feel that their residential choice would be largely determined by the location of good job opportunities.

His marked ambivalence about educational goals derives not so much from feelings of academic inadequacy or fears of social rejection as it does from the competing desire to help his father in the bush and contribute to the material support of his family in view of the likelihood that his father might require re-hospitalization at any time. "It depends on how your family is. If your father dies and you're old enough to work you have to help your family out as much as possible. But if your father is okay I think you should continue your education."

G.H. has experienced far less contact with both White peers and White adults than has his older brother. His anxiety in interactions with Whites is correspondingly more notable. Inasmuch as G.H. does not regard any teacher or counselor as a favorite, and has not lived with a White family, it must be assumed that the White middle class identity model is at present emotionally less meaningful than the 'Traditional' identity model represented by his father. In G.H.'s case, the degree of cognitive disparity between the two identity models is diminished by virtue of his older brother serving as a major model for identification and more particularly as a model of identity synthesis.

Furthermore, the intrafamilial conflict over the value of formal education is modified to the extent that G.H. feels that his father is not opposed to his sons' educational goals. "He's in between. He didn't mind me coming to school as long as I got a good education for my life."

On the other hand, his mother is much less tolerant of G.H.'s wish to complete his education and pattern his lifestyle on that of his older brother. She arouses his feelings of guilt about abandoning his family and their welfare by his pursuit of personal goals. These feelings of guilt are intensified by the mother's insistence that G.H.'s father is in a precarious state of health, and that the accident which occurred in the bush and nearly caused the father's death by drowning could have been easily avoided had one of his sons been with him.

At several points in the interview G.H. contends that trapping is not likely to persist as a viable occupation for more than a few more years and should accordingly be fully exploited while it lasts. This view is supported by both parents. Its impact on G.H. is considerable, further sharpening the conflict between his wishes to continue his education on the one hand and his feelings of obligation toward his family on the other. His remarks about 'the good life' reflect G.H.'s attempts to resolve this conflict by integrating 'modern' and 'traditional' values. He feels that the chief has a good life because "he has a good job for one thing and he tries to entertain all the people." But he selects one more important quality in a good chief, that he be "a guy with a big mouth." That is a good chief, being a reflection of his own ego ideal, would not hesitate to assert his own views, or in G.H.'s case, to allow himself to express his resentment toward his parents for explicitly and implicitly opposing his aspirations. The guilt, and the wish to avoid retaliation generated by the impulses to assert himself with respect to his parents are reflected in his remark that if he had $500 he would use it to buy presents for his family.

In this case, there is ample evidence of strong affective ties with his parents at present and in the past. This is balanced by an older brother encouraging his educational and occupational aspirations at the same time as he serves as a model for identification incorporating White middle class life-style and value orientations without abandoning fundamental family ties. This combination of factors contributes to efforts to resolve identity conflict by a synthesis of identity models, a process in its early stages of development in the present case.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

A common feature of the four cases we have described, and one which has an important bearing on the nature and extent of identity conflict experienced by the students, is their conviction that their parents disapprove of formal education. However, the degree of opposition varies between parents and under different intrafamilial circumstances, such as the student's rank in the sibling order and the state of his parents' health. A.B., for instance, feels that both of his parents are firmly opposed to his remaining in school. C.D. is particularly upset by her father's insistence that she abandon her education, since she considers that this is a reversal of his earlier approval of her wish to attend school. In E.F.'s case, he feels that his father's initial strong disapproval of education has become modified during the course of E.F.'s school career to the point that he thinks his father now would like to take a job training course himself. G.H. is convinced that his father was never opposed to his education. Both brothers agree, though, that their mother has never wanted them to remain at school for more than a few years.

Combining these findings on students' perceptions of parental attitudes toward education with information obtained from interviews with parents and other Cree adults, a theoretical model can be constructed to account for modifications in adult Cree attitudes toward education under the impact of acculturative changes, ranging from strong 'opposition' through a stage of 'ambivalence' to that of 'selective valuation' of the student. A fourth stage, that of 'projective identification' with the student, could conceivably occur in the future. Each of these stages roughly corresponds to the student's academic achievement level (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. Parental attitudes toward education and their relation to academic achievement: a theoretical model applied to the Waswanipi and Mistassini Cree.

stage of adult valuation of student	academic achievement level of student
opposition	limited language skills
ambivalence	advanced language skills
selective valuation	limited occupational skills
projective identification	advanced occupational skills

The stage of 'opposition'

Contacts between the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree and Euro-Canadians increased significantly in the twentieth century as the Hudson Bay Company expanded its operations in the region, the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions to the Cree became more active, and the Indian Affairs Branch extended its authority and services through the appointment of "Indian agents" to administer the affairs of each band.[24] During the 1930's the first steps were taken to introduce the Euro-Canadian system of formal education. A small number of Mistassini and Waswanipi children were sent to residential schools operated by the Anglican Church at Chapleau, Ontario. Education was imposed on the Cree at that time, since children were arbitrarily selected to be sent to school despite parental opposition. The purpose of formal education was, at best, very inadequately explained to and understood by Cree adults. They resented the fact that their children were separated from them for the duration of their school careers of two, three, or even four years, and were thus prevented from learning the Cree way of life.[25] Expressed in more abstract terms, adult Cree reacted to the introduction of formal education as a threat to the cohesion and continuity of the kin and hunting groups, and therefore a serious impediment to traditional enculturation.

In fact this initial attempt to introduce 'White' schooling was abandoned after three or four years. More concerted and on-going efforts to institute a program of formal education began about 1950 under the auspices of the IAB. Children were sent to the Indian Residential School at Moose Factory, and later to the Shingwauk Indian Residential School at Sault Ste. Marie as well, when it was decided that those students who were prepared to go on to high school should do so in Sault Ste. Marie. However, these more concerted efforts to extend the Euro-Canadian educational system among the Cree, including the recent expansion of facilities for Cree students at Brantford, La Tuque and Mistassini Post, have not by any means resulted in the elimination of parental opposition to education. Indeed, many parents continue to disapprove of their children attending school, as is the case for A.B.'s parents.

The stage of ambivalence

During the 1950's contact between the Cree and Euro-Canadians increased greatly. The development of tourism provided opportunities for Cree men to work as fishing and hunting guides. Lumbering and mineral exploration expanded dramatically in the region and acquired relevance for the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree as some of them were employed for the first time as pulp cutters and prospectors' assistants (see LaRusic, 1968b, for more details). Within the past ten years mining camps have grown into towns. As a consequence of these and other related factors, the range and significance of contacts between the Cree and Euro-Canadian society began to change.

At this stage, which is most characteristic of the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree at the present time, the usefulness of knowing how to speak English and French becomes evident. Linguistic skills become important in enabling the members of the band, individually and collectively, to communicate more effectively with those representatives of the dominant industrial society, such as government officials, potential employers, storekeepers and others with whom there is increasing frequency and depth of contact. An awareness develops that at least some members of the band need to be competent to act as "cultural brokers" (Geertz, 1963; Paine, 1967) in contacts between the Cree and White society. This makes it unnecessary for most adults of the interacting cultures to develop the kind of close contact which is anxiety-provoking to both.

The recognition of this new cultural need has had a direct bearing on adult Cree attitudes toward education. 'Opposition' has begun to shade into 'ambivalence' as parents have become sensitive to their own lack of language skills and want their children to attend school so that they will learn English (or in a few cases French). Students skilled in speaking and writing English (or French) become valued as cultural brokers. But to the extent that the student's role as cultural broker arouses feelings of inadequacy and resentment in those adults who become dependent on him, intergenerational conflict is exacerbated and parental ambivalence toward the student and toward formal education is intensified. Accordingly, the feeling predominates that children should attend school for two, three, or four years, but that once they have learned to speak adequate English or French they should stop school and return home in sufficient time to learn traditional adult roles. This situation is typically illustrated in the case of C.D. At this stage parents remain opposed to prolonged education. They strongly urge, and in many cases insist, that their children discontinue their schooling and participate fully in the traditional religious and economic life of the band.

The stage of 'selective valuation'

The stage of 'selective valuation' of the student is just beginning to have relevance for the Cree. Some students, such as E.F. for example, have achieved a sufficient degree of linguistic and technical skills that they can function as skilled or semi-skilled workers: as heavy equipment operators or miners, as draughtsmen, carpenters, or electricians. Female students are able to fill jobs as office or store clerks, secretaries or nursing assistants.

At this point geographic mobility has often occurred, with a shift toward, or at least adaptation to, an urban life style. That is, as more adult Cree become involved in wage employment, a growing number of families come to live for a greater proportion of each year in encampments adjacent to but separate from lumber camps and mining towns in the region. In some cases, such as at Chapais and Matagami, these encampments become semi-permanent or even permanent settlements. Some young adults who are relatively fluent in English or French and familiar with the Euro-Canadian life style move into the towns and rent apartments.

When this stage is reached Cree adults begin to recognize the practical economic advantages of education and urge their children to go to school, not simply to learn

English or French, but to continue their education to the point that they will be able "to get a good job" when they stop school. Some adults may wish to take job training courses themselves, as in the case of E.F.'s father.

At this stage, Cree parents become sensitive to the fact that high school students sometimes obtain summer employment at higher wages than they themselves are able to earn. Accordingly, they expect the student to contribute substantially to the support of the family and exert pressure on him to discontinue his education and begin full time work.

Furthermore, a wide range of expectations may be focussed on the student by adults whose understanding of the operations of governmental, economic and other institutions of the 'White' world is very imprecise. As a result, they conceptualize the older high school student or young adult living in town as someone whose level of interaction and integration with the dominant culture is such that he can arrange employment, job training, social welfare, medical and other services for whichever members of the family call on him for assistance. Motivated by feelings of responsibility toward the kin group and by the wish to be cooperative and generous to them, the student feels obliged to comply with family expectations. The anxiety experienced by the student may become very intense as his wish to continue his education increasingly conflicts with his wish to be generous and helpful to his family and with their mounting demands that he undertake full time employment.

The stage of 'projective identification'

The final stage of attitudinal change is represented by 'projective identification.' At this stage the student will have achieved a level of education that prepares him for managerial or professional status, and the full potential for successful integration in or adaptation to the urban industrial society. At the same time, continuing acculturative contact will have encouraged a shift in values among Cree adults, such that their social status as well as their emotional gratification will be measured to an important degree by their children's accomplishments.

This pattern has not become identifiable in any meaningful sense among the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree, since there are at present only three Cree university students and less than ten enrolled in technical colleges. This stage could conceivably occur in the future though, as more Mistassini and Waswanipi youth complete their high school careers and go on to obtain degrees from universities and technical colleges.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary aims of this report have been to describe the enculturative discontinuities experienced by Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree adolescents as a consequence of formal education in an urban setting; to outline the relationship between these enculturative discontinuities and the nature of identity conflict prevalent among Cree students; to formulate hypotheses concerning the direction of students' attempts to resolve identity conflict through polarization toward the 'White' identity model, toward the 'Traditional' model, or toward a synthesis of the two identity models; and to demonstrate by means of case studies the nature of identity conflict among these students, and their attempts to resolve it through the synthesis of identity models. A secondary aim has been to give some indication of the relationship between identity conflict among adolescents and the change in adult Cree attitudes toward formal education under conditions of increasing contact with the dominant Euro-Canadian culture.

In keeping with these aims we have presented a global qualitative analysis incorporating the initial findings of our research. Any detailed discussion of our findings must await a more comprehensive analysis of the 109 AAI student protocols, the 34 non-student AAI's, and the related ethnographic and clinical data. Nevertheless, certain tentative conclusions do emerge from our review of data on the 109 Mistassini and Waswanipi adolescents attending school in 1967-68. These conclusions are as follows:

1. Marked enculturative discontinuities result from the dual socialization which Cree children experience as they alternate between the traditional milieu and the urban school milieu.
2. These enculturative discontinuities are the major factor in the development of identity conflict during adolescence, because those individuals who serve as important models for identification in the two milieux embody contrasting values, aspirations and behavioural norms.
3. Identity conflict can be readily demonstrated using the AAI as the principal instrument of investigation, and is clearly evident in 42% of student protocols.
4. Educational aspirations represent a major focus of intergenerational conflict between students and their parents.
5. The degree of the students' emotional investment in achieving these aspirations determines the direction of polarization of their largely unconscious attempts to resolve identity conflict. Those students having a high degree of emotional investment in educational aspirations polarize

toward the 'White' model or toward a synthesis of the 'White' and 'Traditional' models, while those with a low emotional commitment to education polarize toward the 'Traditional' identity model.

6. More than one-third of all students interviewed attempt to resolve identity conflict predominantly through a synthesis of the 'White' and the 'Traditional' identity models.

7. Attempts at synthesis of identity models are highly characteristic of high school students but not of elementary students.

8. Successful resolution of identity conflict through synthesis of identity models requires that positive affective ties with parents be maintained, that emotionally meaningful supportive relationships with White parent surrogates be established, and that the individual's self-esteem be maintained vis-a-vis both White and Indian peers.

PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS

The essential practical problem which emerges from our research is how to diminish the intensity of the identity conflict which is so prevalent among adolescent Cree students. To achieve this objective it is necessary first to reduce the degree of enculturative discontinuity experienced by these students as a consequence of alternating in their socialization between the traditional milieu and the urban school setting. Second, it is important to create conditions which promote the resolution of identity conflict through synthesis of the 'White' and 'Traditional' identity models.

In order to resolve successfully identity conflict through synthesis of identity models students must be able to maintain close affective ties with their adult kin at the same time as they establish positive relationships with significant White adults and peers. To accomplish this, intergenerational conflict must be reduced. Students must retain a sufficient emotional attachment to the traditional values and way of life that their acquisition of formal education will not be accompanied by devaluation and rejection of their parents and the Cree cultural heritage. Students also must maintain their ability to speak the Cree language.

The school curricula employed in educating Cree children must be designed to validate their self-image and strengthen their self-esteem as Cree and as Indians, while at the same time enabling them to acquire the linguistic, behavioral, and technical skills they must have to realize their aspirations and exploit the growing range of occupational opportunities in the North. If they learn skills which are relevant in the northern economic context this will enable them not only to adapt successfully to the economic conditions in the region but also will enable them to maintain close ties with their families and participate in the life of the band. Attempts to bridge the gap between the generations must involve parents as well as students. Parents need to develop a clearer understanding of the 'White' world, particularly the aims and methods of formal education. Furthermore they need to play a major role in planning their children's education.

If the educational system is oriented to Cree culture as well as to Euro-Canadian culture parents will not perceive formal education as the White man's attempt to alienate their children from them and from the Cree way of life and to wean them away from the North. At present parents feel powerless to prevent their children from being 'taken away from them.' These feelings of powerlessness often lead to a generalized suspicion of, if not hostility toward, the government and the Euro-Canadian system of formal education.

To reduce discontinuities in the enculturation of Cree children, to sustain positive affective ties with parents, to maintain students' self-esteem, and to strengthen a Cree self-image, we recommend that:

1. Combined residential school - day school facilities be located in Cree settlements, with cottage type residences and Cree 'foster parents' for those children whose parents are in the bush or away working in seasonal kinds of employment. These facilities would comprise classes for beginners through Grade five and would replace the residential schools which children attend now for these grades.

2. The school year be modified so that those children who want to go trapping with their families could spend some time in the bush each year; for example, by having the major vacation period during the winter instead of during the summer.

3. A monolingual Cree curriculum be introduced for beginners to Grade three, with a transition to a bilingual English-Cree or French-Cree curriculum (according to parental choice) during Grades four and five. Some subjects, such as Cree history, written and spoken Cree, religion (Christian and traditional), and civics should continue to be taught in Cree through Grade twelve.

4. Cree youths or adults be recruited to teach in the schools in the region. Those having a Grade ten education or beyond could be given teacher training in both the regular and Cree-oriented subjects, while those with limited or no formal

education could teach those Cree subjects noted in recommendation three.

5. Non-Cree school personnel be given some training in spoken and written Cree, Cree history and culture, and in northern living skills (for example, how to snowshoe). These training programs should be held in the North, should involve as many Cree as possible as teachers and resource personnel, and should be a prerequisite for employment in schools serving Cree students.

6. Curricula presently in use in the towns of the Mistassini-Waswanipi region be modified in order to reflect the multicultural character of the region. For example, Cree studies and the history of interethnic contacts in the area should be required for all students.

To encourage formation of positive relationships with Whites, to provide the skills necessary to realize economic and social goals, to acquire familiarity with the "White urban world" and its institutions, and, ultimately, to promote synthesis of the two major identity models, we recommend that:

7. Cree students attend community schools in towns of the Mistassini-Waswanipi region, rather than Indian residential schools, for Grades six through twelve.

8. Cottage type residences in these towns be provided for

Cree students in Grades six to eight, with both Cree and White 'foster parents.' Parents should be encouraged to exchange visits with their children and one 'visitors room' should be included in each student residence to provide overnight accomodations for visiting family members.

9. Cree students in Grades nine to twelve be encouraged to live with Indian, English, or French 'foster families' in the towns where they attend community schools.

10. A bilingual English-Cree or French-Cree curriculum be introduced for Grades four through twelve. Subjects such as those noted in recommendation three should be taught in Cree and all other subjects should be taught in either English or French.

11. Curricula presently utilized in northern schools, whether in Indian settlements or in towns, be modified in order to prepare students both for the economic opportunities in the North and for university or further technical training.

12. Community centers be established which could function as libraries, study facilities for students, and locations for adult education courses.

To increase parents' understanding of the purposes of formal education and diminish their suspicion of it, to overcome their feelings of powerlessness with respect to decisions about their children's education, and, ultimately, to reduce intergenerational conflict over education, we recommend that:

13. Legislation and policy changes be effected enabling Indian parents to operate their own local school districts and to be fully participating members of school boards in the towns where their children attend community schools under the jurisdiction of local school boards.

14. Adult education courses be established to give parents an understanding of academic work and its usefulness. Appropriate subjects for these courses include French, English, technical skills (job training) and the explanation and interpretation of government policies and legislation which affect Indians in general and Cree in particular.

In formulating these preliminary recommendations we anticipate that consultation with the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree will result in certain modifications or revisions. We feel that this participation in decision-making is an essential prerequisite to working toward the implementation of recommendations concerning the education of Cree children.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

1. The generalized term 'White' as used by the Cree involves a wide range of associations. For the present purpose the term 'White identity model' refers to both middle-class and working-class Euro-Canadians, the former applying more particularly for Cree girls and the latter for Cree boys. A further division of middle-class and working-class identity models along the lines of French versus English Canadian would also be relevant, but is not essential for the clarification of our central theme.

Methodology

2. Most members of the Mistassini band usually live in the vicinity of Mistassini Post and Doré Lake when they are not in the bush. Most members of the Waswanipi band usually live in the vicinity of Chapais, Miquelon, Waswanipi River and Matagami when they are not in the bush. For a description of these communities see Roger Pothier's "Community complexity and Indian isolation" (1968a). It should be noted that Cree families are highly mobile during the summer as they exploit different economic opportunities in the region, such as fishing, guiding, pulp cutting, (see La Rusic 1968a and 1968b for a discussion of this mobility).

3. One female student refused to be interviewed.

Traditional enculturation and the impact of formal education

4. These residential schools are operated by the churches (in this case the Anglican Church) under contracts with the Indian Affairs Branch. In recent years the role of the Church has narrowed considerably, to the extent that at the present, the Church is only responsible for administering the living arrangements of the students and has no direct role in their academic programme. The IAB is directly responsible for all curriculum planning and for obtaining and supervising teachers.

5. Death from starvation is unlikely now because all hunting groups take some "store food" into the bush with them. However, it is still possible, for instance if supplies are lost or ruined. Thus, fears of starvation remain profound and widespread.

6. It is quite likely that children growing up now are doing more household tasks and learning to do them at an earlier age because so many of the older children are away at school, which seriously diminishes the labour pool available in the hunting group. See La Rusic, 1968a for a note on the impact of school attendance on hunting group recruitment and labour resources.

7. Such behaviour is tolerated although still disapproved, when the individual is intoxicated, in which case he is not considered responsible for his actions.

8. This varies to a degree from place to place within the region. For example those Mistassini chidren whose parents now live in close proximity to White towns as for example, Doré Lake (eight miles from Chibougamau) or those Waswanipi children whose families live in or near the towns of Chapais, Miquelon and Matagami have more exposure to Euro-Canadians and their sociocultural system. For the Waswanipi this phenomenon has accelerated since the closure of the Hudson's Bay Post at Waswanipi Lake in 1964.

9. We hypothesize that this development will have increasing effects upon the process of enculturation as these acculturated students return home and serve as non-traditional models for identification and emulation. These individuals are also playing an increasingly important role in the life of the community as is illustrated by their participation in the Mistassini Band Council.

10. Data for this section are drawn for the most part from fieldwork in the La Tuque School, supplemented by material collected at Brantford.

11. Only in the last three years has French language education been introduced. Waswanipi students in Grades one to three have received all of their education in French but virtually all other Mistassini and Waswanipi students have been entirely educated in English.

12. IAB regulations allow one dormitory staff member per twenty-five children, but because this ruling does not allow for time off, at La Tuque each staff member in practice normally was responsible for thirty to forty children.

Identity conflict and its resolution: Formulation of Hypotheses

13. The subject of psychopathology resulting from unresolved identity conflict will be illustrated and discussed in detail in the final report of this research, but a preliminary description is contained in Wintrob, 1968b.

14. For a description of one such case see Wintrob, 1968a, Case 4.

15. This is a subject of vital importance to the future life way of the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree. The research of the Cree Developmental Change Project points to the decreasing likelihood that the Cree will be able to maintain traditional roles. They recognize the need for change because of their conviction about the declining economic viability of trapping. 'White' jobs such as

15. (cont.)

linecutting, staking and pulpcutting are viewed as alternatives and are being reinterpreted in terms of traditional values (La Rusic 1968b; Tanner 1968). An occupation such as bush pilot is highly valued by those youth who wish to retain close links with their family and region, while at the same time aspiring to more complex technological skills and wage employment. Adults also value the role of bush pilot since it contributes to the maintenance of their preferred way of life as trappers and hunters. Accordingly bush piloting can be reinterpreted as a modified traditional role.

From another point of view, a survey of interviews just completed on 34 Mistassini and Waswanipi adolescents and young adults with little or no experience of formal education reveals that they too recognize the decreasing viability of bush life limited to hunting and trapping. They would like to undertake job training themselves, and generally prefer that their children attend school for a prolonged period, then obtain wage employment.

16. The data collected by the Project staff indicate that there are definite limitations in this area at present, but the high potential for future exploitation of mineral, timber and water resources of the region, as well as the development of tourism and secondary industries point to

16. (cont.)

growing possibilities of employment for those Cree possessing relevant technical, professional and linguistic skills. Occupations such as heavy equipment operator, engineer, electrician, bush pilot, radio technician, accountant, teacher, secretary and nurse are only a few of the possible roles that will enable Cree students to continue to live in the region.

Research findings: a preliminary analysis

17. The comparative preponderance of Mistassini students reflects the greater size of the Mistassini band (900-1,000 people) in contrast to the Waswanipi who number only 400-500.

18. It was observed that a 'withdrawal reaction' was characteristic at points in the interview which provoked the greatest anxiety; particularly that section of the AAI relating to the student's conceptions of each parent's attitude toward his education. The student's emotional withdrawal would be reflected typically in two behavioural manifestations: 1) a trailing off of vocal tone, so that the student would whisper in a barely audible tone and would not repeat what he had whispered, and 2) turning away from the interviewer, a technique much easier for the girls than the boys, since the girls would simply turn their

18. (cont)

face to one side and hide behind their long hair (and sometimes chew it), while the boys would slump over and look at the floor. By contrast with the 'withdrawal reaction' of the younger adolescents, older students would become most anxious when asked to speculate about future social and occupational roles. At such anxiety-provoking points in the interview, these students would become visibly tense, would stammer or tremble or become flushed, talk in a tangential verbose way, or begin to cry.

19. Initials will be used in alphabetical sequence (Case A.B., Case C.D., Case E.F.) to identify students interviewed. Where necessary minor modifications in personal data are made in order to protect the true identity of students and their families.

20. He has read about flying planes and would like to try it, He is quite familiar with the bush planes that regularly land and take off near their home in summer and transport supplies to the family during the winter at their hunting territory, returning with the furs to be sold.

21. In this context work is conceptualized by Cree students as wage employment, in contrast to the traditional occupation roles of hunting, trapping and fishing.

22. An earlier interview with the mother reveals that she had wanted to take E.F. or one of his brothers into the bush so that he could learn how to hunt and trap. But each time she asked the Indian agent about it her request was refused. She was always given the same explanation; "He says nobody will be going hunting pretty soon, they'll close that up. So then the boys will still know how to get a job if they go to school. He says that if they (the band members) don't take their kids from(out of) school they'll learn more and more of the White man's ways; but if they take them out (of school) they won't learn any more." So, she says, when her kids are grown up she's going to ask the (the government) for help because she asked for her boys but they wouldn't let her have them.

23. This brother had been enticing G.H. to stop school with stories of the excitement of hunting and the gratification derived from the outstanding success he and his father had on the trapline that winter.

24. Initial contacts between the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree and the 'White' Euro-Canadian culture began in the 17th century in the form of sporadic interaction with fur traders and missionaries. During the 17th and 18th centuries trading posts were established in the region,

but frequently they remained in operation only for a few years and no permanent settlements developed. Anglican missionary activity was centered on James Bay but the French Catholic missionaries made intermittent attempts to convert the Mistassini and Waswanipi Indians.

During the 19th century the Hudson Bay Company consolidated its position in the region. The fur trade increased in volume and in its economic impact. In the 1880's Anglican missionaries came from James Bay to baptize Cree converts and to train catechists to hold religious services in their absence. From 1671, when Father Albanel first came to the Mistassini region, until the 20th century these contacts with Whites had only limited effects upon the traditional culture and social structure of the Mistassini and Waswanipi Cree. One important reason for this was that it was in the interests of the fur traders to encourage retention of the traditional way of life. Although the subsistence base shifted from pure hunting to a hunting-fur trapping adaptation and led to a dependence upon Euro-Canadian material goods and food stuffs (flour, sugar, and tea) , the Cree remained almost completely isolated from Euro-Canadian society.

25. The practice of having Cree students return to their families during the summer was not introduced until about 1950.

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